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THE BALTIC CRUSADES AND THE CULTURE OF MEMORY: STUDIES ON HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION, RITUALS, AND RECOLLECTION OF THE PAST

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ABSTRACT

The Baltic Crusades and the Culture of Memory:
Studies on historical representation, rituals, and recollection of the past

This article-based dissertation tackles the role of cultural representations and practices in the medieval expansion of Latin Christendom, analysing the historiography concerning the conversion and conquest of the Baltic Sea area.

Four of the articles examine Latin missionary historiography from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, concentrating on the chronicles related to the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen (with a particular focus on the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia). These founding narratives of the frontier settlements and institutions allow insight into the function of literary representations in legitimising the new rule, but they also highlight the importance of performative practices in the Christianisation of the borderlands.

The dissertation also has a more generally theoretical dimension, addressing the oft-debated problem that we can analyse medieval rituals only indirectly, through textual or visual mediations. It argues that because it is impossible to know whether the described rituals actually took place, we should instead focus on the ways in which their historiographical representations enable to analyse the meaning and significance of the rituals.

In addition to that the thesis demonstrates that there are fruitful perspectives for analysing the appropriation of rituals in the medieval history writing offered by the studies of cultural memory. These studies have emphasised that the formation of effective memorial figures is based on their remediation in various cultural media. In the frontier chronicles, authority is first and foremost based on the connections with the Christian past. Yet these texts also reveal an understanding that these contacts with the sacred past should be manifested through various media: through textual quotations, but also through rituals and other performances.

The dissertation also considers the cultural memory of the Christianisation period in a longer historical perspective, two of the articles discussing its afterlives during later periods: the early modern, the Enlightenment and the modern eras. The rivalry for hegemony in the Eastern Baltic has kept the legacy of the conquest and conversion a topical as well as a political issue. The active appropriations have secured a constant remediation of the medieval narratives in different cultural media, while also resulting in their considerable transformations.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Itämeren ristiretket ja muistamisen kulttuuri:
Tutkimuksia historiallisesta representaatiosta, rituaaleista ja menneisyyden muistamisesta

Tämä artikkeliväitöskirja käsittelee kulttuuristen representaatioiden ja käytäntöjen roolia latinalaisen kristikunnan keskiaikaisessa laajentumisessa analysoimalla Itämeren alueen käännyttämistä ja valloittamista käsittelevää historiankirjoitusta.

Väitöskirjan neljä artikkelia käsittelevät latinankielistä historiankirjoitusta 1000-luvulta 1200-luvulle, keskittyen Hamburg-Bremenin arkkihiippakunnan liittyviin lähetyskronikoihin (erityisesti Henrikin Liivinmaan kronikkaan). Nämä siirtokuntien ja instituutioiden perustamiskertomukset osoittavat kirjallisten representaatioiden käyttökelpoisuuden uuden vallan legitimoinnissa, mutta ne myös korostavat performatiivisten käytäntöjen tärkeyttä rajamaiden kristillistymisessä.

Väitöskirja tarjoaa myös teoreettisen näkökulman paljon keskustelua herättäneeseen huomioon siitä, että voimme tutkia keskiaikaisia rituaaleja vain epäsuorasti, niitä koskevien tekstuaalisten tai visuaalisten representaatioiden välityksellä. Väitöskirja esittää, että merkityksellistä ei ole se, tapahtuivatko kuvatut rituaalit todella, vaan se, että ne sisällytettiin aikakauden historiankirjoitukseen. Keskeiseksi kysymykseksi muodostuu tällöin, millä tavoin rituaalien historiografiset representaatiot mahdollistavat näiden kulttuurisen ja sosiaalisen merkityksen analysoimisen.

Tutkimuksessa väitetään lisäksi, että kulttuurisen muistin tutkimus tarjoaa lupaavia analyyttisiä työkaluja, joilla avata rituaalikertomuksien merkitystä keskiaikaisessa historiankirjoituksessa. Nämä tutkimukset korostavat että toimivien muisti-figuurien muodostuminen perustuu niiden toistamiseen erilaisissa kulttuurisissa medioissa. Rajamaakronikoissa auktoriteetti perustuu ensisijaisesti kontakteihin kristillisen menneisyyden kanssa. Lisäksi nämä tekstit tuovat ilmi ymmärryksen että kontakteja pyhän menneisyyden kanssa pitää manifestoida eri medioiden kautta: tekstuaalisten lainausten, mutta myös rituaalien ja muiden esityksien kautta.

Väitöskirja tarkastelee kristillistymisen ajan kulttuurista muistia myös laajemmasta näkökulmasta. Kaksi artikkelia käsittelee sen ”jälkielämää” (*afterlife*) myöhäisimmillä aikakausilla: varhaisella uudella ajalla, valistuksen aikana ja modernilla aikakaudella. Kilpailu hegemoniasta Itämeren itäisillä alueilla on pitänyt valloituksen ja käännyttämisen perinnön jatkuvasti ajankohtaisena ja poliittisena aiheena. Tämä aktiivinen käyttö on varmistanut keskiaikaisten kertomuksien jatkuvan toistamisen eri kulttuurisissa medioissa, mutta on myös tuonut mukanaan merkittäviä muutoksia.

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I am also indebted to the editors of the volumes where the articles presented here have been published, especially to Dr. Stefan Donecker, Dr. Wojtek Jezierski, Dr. Erik Kooper, and Prof. Lars Boje Mortensen.

Linda Kaljundi
Tallinn-Helsinki, January 2016

CONTENTS

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

1 Waiting for the Barbarians: Reconstruction of Otherness in the Saxon Missionary and Crusading Chronicles, 11th–13th Centuries – The Medieval Chronicle 5, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2008), pp. 113–127.

2 Medieval Conceptualisations of the Baltic Sea Region: Performing the Frontier in Helmold of Bosau's "Chronicle of the Slavs". – The "Baltic Frontier" Revisited: Power Structures and Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Baltic Sea Region, ed. Imbi Sooman and Stefan Donecker (Vienna: University of Vienna, 2009), pp 25–40.

3 (Re)performing the past: Crusading, history writing, and rituals in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia. – The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds: Non-Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen and Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen, with Alexandra Bergholm (Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces, 3) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 295–338.

4 Expanding communities: Henry of Livonia on the making of a Christian colony, early thirteenth century. – Imagined Communities on the Baltic Rim, 11th – 15th Centuries, eds. Wojtek Jezierski, Lars Hermanson, Auður Magnúsdóttir (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press) [positive peer-reviews received in August 2015; book included into the publishers production plan for the year 2016].

5 Pagans into Peasants: Ethnic and social boundaries in medieval and early modern Livonia. – Re-forming the Early Modern North: Text, music, and sacred space, eds. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press) [forthcoming in Spring 2016].

6 (with the collaboration of Kaspars Kļaviņš) The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions. – Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, eds. Marek Tamm, Linda

Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 409–456.

APPENDICES

Letters of confirmation for forthcoming publications and a declaration of co-authorship:

1 Letter of acceptance from Wojtek Jezierski, confirming that the article by Linda Kaljundi, Expanding communities: Henry of Livonia on the making of a Christian colony, early thirteenth century has been accepted for the volume Imagined Communities on the Baltic Rim, 11th – 15th Centuries, eds. Wojtek Jezierski, Lars Hermanson, Auður Magnúsdóttir (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press).

2 Letter of confirmation from Simon Forde from the Amsterdam University Press, stating that the volume Re-forming the Early Modern North: Text, music, and sacred space, eds. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), including the article by Linda Kaljundi, Pagans into Peasants: Ethnic and social boundaries in medieval and early modern Livonia, is about to be published in Spring 2016.

3 Verification of Linda Kaljundi's contribution to the article, authored in collaboration of Kaspars Kļaviņš, The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions. – Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, eds. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 409–456.

INTRODUCTION

Histories of conquest and conversion: Re-mediating the past and authorising the present in the medieval Baltic Sea region

'Many and glorious things happened in Livonia at the time when the heathen were converted to the faith of Jesus Christ during the past 67 years when the Bremen merchants first discovered the Livonian port'.[1] This is an early modern addition to the last chapter of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, a crusade chronicle and founding narrative of Christian Livonia from the 1220s.[2] The interpolation contributed to the forming of a legend about 'the discovery of Livonia', developed by early modern authors under the influence of the discovery of the New World.[3]

They argued that the German merchants discovered Livonia much in a similar way as Columbus discovered America, arriving accidentally by ship to the River Daugava (Ger. Düna) in 1158, or 1159. In the nineteenth century, the so-called *Aufsegelung*-legend became topical again due to the emergence of German colonial fantasies, which lead to the glorification of the medieval colonisation of Eastern Europe and also spread widely in the Eastern Baltic.[4] Only the finding of an older manuscript of Henry's chronicle in 1862 showed that the story was a later addition.[5]

The refashioning of the founding of Christian Livonia according to the Columbian model is a good example of how later events can transform the representation of the past.[6] The study of medieval history writing has traditionally emphasised the traffic going in the opposite direction and focused on the way the medieval chroniclers have used the authority of the

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[1] *Multa quidem et gloriosa contigerunt in Livonia temprore conversionis gentium ad fidem Iesu Christi per annos LXVII. praeteritos, ex quibus primo inventus est a mercatoribus Bremensibus portus Livonicus*. Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, p. 177.

[2] According to Paul Johansen (1961), the interpolation was added to Henry's chronicle in around 1548–1578. It occurs in the so-called Hannover manuscript, which was used for the first printed edition of the chronicle by Johann Daniel Gruber (Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, cited above), as well as several later ones.

[3] Many of the influential early modern Livonian historians used and elaborated the legend, including Johann Renner (1525–1583), Balthasar Russow (1536–1600), and Franz Nyenstede (1540–1622).

[4] As shown by Ulrike Plath (2011), the colonial visions of Livonia were not limited to the motif of Columbian discovery, but included a number of other, often transnational elements. Next to scholarly and popular writing, the *Aufsegelung*-legend was also popularized through historical images. Kaljundi, Kreem 2013: 105–106, 259; Kaljundi 2015b; cf. Article Six [Kaljundi, Kļaviņš 2011: 420–423].

[5] This was the so-called Zamoyski manuscript, which has remained the oldest version of Henry's chronicle. For manuscript studies and edition history concerning this chronicle, see Kala 2011.

[6] Admittedly, the discourse of the New World also is in itself a good example of the formative impact of the past, as the early modern discovery narratives borrowed very many elements, schemata and images from the medieval expansion histories (Greenblatt 1991, Grafton 1995).

classical, biblical and Christian past for representing their own contemporary history. A good example of this is the aforementioned Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, which heavily depends on biblical language and schemata. The current study also discusses at lenght the appropriation of the past in medieval historiography.

At the same time, still, it also aims at highlighting the multidirectionality of memory, arguing that medieval authors also transformed the past, which they recalled and re-used in their works. Hans-Werner Goetz has poignantly remarked that 'the past was regarded as an "authority", but it was nevertheless seen through modern eyes and served current needs' (2006: 28).

Although in the following articles the conquest and conversion of Livonia gains the most attention, this study addresses the remembrance of conquest, conversion and crusades in the larger Baltic Sea area. The study as a whole also has a broader chronological scope, which reaches beyond the Christianisation period that lasted from the tenth until the fourteenth centuries in this region. The sources discussed in the Introduction and the following articles date from the eleventh century until the present day. Thereby we examine three different time periods that all have been – in their different ways – crucial for legitimizing the colonization of the Baltic Sea realm: the era of medieval expansion, the early modern period, and the age of Enlightenment and nationalism. Reflecting different interests and ideologies, the texts analysed here shed light on the transformations of the colonial discourse at different epochs.

The first and larger part of the studies gathered here centres on the medieval founding narratives, examining the Latin missionary and crusade historiography from the eleventh until the early thirteenth century. From among the rather considerable range of the medieval historians writing about the Christianisation of the Baltic and Nordic realm, the research presented here centres on the authors related to the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen (more of them shortly below). In order to focus on a relatively closely bound corpus this work does not discuss the various other authors who have written about the Christianisation of the Nordic or the Baltic Sea realms, such as for example the Ottonian chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg (c. 975–1018), or the Danish authors Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1150–1220).

Their authors related to the Hamburg-Bremen circles belonged to the same institutional and historiographical tradition, which was involved in establishing the Christian rule in the newly converted regions around the Baltic Sea realm. Focusing on the texts related to this archdiocese also enables to explore the issues of continuity and coherence in this particular regional tradition.

The two last articles are concerned with the transmission of the medieval narratives about the conversion and colonisation of the Eastern Baltic. Thereby this study also takes into consideration the afterlife of the medieval

histories within a broad time frame. Firstly, it looks at the transformations that the Reformation period brought about in the representations of the religious conflicts with the native peoples. The second study addresses the treatment of the medieval expansion in the age of the Enlightenment and modern nationalism. These two studies also address the interplay between continuity and change and ask how reconfigurations of these stories allow us to draw conclusions concerning the mentality of different eras.

In the recent years, the Christianisation of the Baltic and the Nordic realm has been widely studied. This inevitably raises the question whether this study has anything new to add. First and foremost, the core issues of the research gathered here centre on the role of culture in medieval expansion. Closely related to this is the other key question of this study, which concerns our opportunities to analyse the role of cultural practices in medieval border societies through textual representations. Asking how power and ideology work through culture also is relevant for discussing the afterlives of medieval colonisation, as the legacy of these events was also used in early modern and modern conflicts over hegemony.

Highlighting the role of culture does not mean denying the military and economic aspects of warfare and expansion. This thesis however positions itself among the studies that depart from an understanding that culture is not simply a medium in the service of power, but plays an active role in politics. The agenda to take culture seriously was introduced by the scholars of historical anthropology and new cultural history, who called to view culture as an active participant in social processes, as well as to offer cultural explanations for socio-political phenomena.[7] Emblematic to this kind of research are the studies by Clifford Geertz who argued that to study the symbols of power is to study the essence of power.[8]

Along with the spread of the cultural turn, this approach has become more topical in the studies of the medieval expansion of Latin Christendom (as shall be discussed in more detail in the following subsections). Concerning the Nordic and Baltic territories, Lars Boje Mortensen has well emphasised the need to focus on the active role of culture in the Christianisation of these regions, thereby avoiding the traditional, or Marxist two-layer model where the primary field of power politics simply uses, or manipulates the subordinate field of culture (e.g. religious practices or writing) (2006b: 10–11).[9]

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[7] The call to analyse the active social role of culture is voiced, for example, in Burke 2008: 32–34, cf. 41; Thomas 1963: 7.

[8] One the best known examples of this approach is the study on the 'theatre state' in Bali by Geertz (1980a), which showed how it was governed through rituals and symbols rather than the use of force.

[9] Similar argument has often also been made by Peter Burke, who has claimed that the focus on the active role of culture has the advantage of allowing historians 'to discuss the relation between specific texts or artefacts and the society in which they were produced without assuming that culture is some kind of "superstructure", which simply reflects the "real" changes taking place below' (1987: 5).

In relation to these areas, the role of culture has been discussed mainly in connection to textual representations and their role in providing conversion and religious warfare with meaning and authority. However, the current study also asks how medieval historians show other cultural media – e.g. rituals, or performances – to contribute to the Christianisation process.

This study also claims that border areas such as the Baltic Sea region offer good material for studying the role of culture in the context of the medieval expansion, as well as of the crusades. At a first glance, the peripheries of the Baltic Sea region seem as an antipode of the Holy Land. As argued by Jonathan Riley Smith, one could easily consider Jerusalem and the land around as a relic, which had absorbed the sacred power of the holy men of Israel, the apostles and above all Christ himself. This was particularly appealing at a time when people were strongly devoted to the localities where saints had lived or where their relics rested.[10]

The Baltic Sea area, in contrast, was far from being filled with sacred places or objects. It has been often stressed that this made the propagation of religious warfare more difficult in these regions. This study, however, claims that this situation rather encouraged an active appropriation of various cultural practices, which served to compensate the lack of the sacred dimension. In this process, the propagators of the mission and conquest appear to show considerable innovativeness that seems necessary for and characteristic to such frontier areas.

In parallel to highlighting the role of culture in the Christianisation process, the thesis also has a more generally theoretical dimension, as it critically addresses the ways in which textual representations enable us to explore the role of cultural practices in the past. Most notably this issue concerns the literary depictions of various performative practices. A number of scholars argue that rituals played a leading role in the political and social life of the Middle Ages. Yet others contest this approach, stressing that we can analyse medieval rituals only indirectly, through textual or visual mediations. The theoretical and methodological discussion, synthesised in the Introduction, discusses the relevant debates, as well as offers some perspectives for approaching the historiographical representations of rituals in the Middle Ages.

The structure of the introductory chapter is as following. In order to contextualise the discussion concerning the issues raised above, it at first gives a short overview of the Christianisation of the Baltic Sea region, as well as of the historiographical works analysed in the following articles. While the closest attention is being paid to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, the Introduction also presents the chronicles of Adam of Bremen, Helmold of

[10] Riley-Smith 2003: 21. This idea is also well reflected in a statement by one of the chroniclers examined below, Helmold of Bosau: 'And from that time on the divine praises were increasingly sung there and God was adored by the peoples of the earth in the place where His feet had stood.' (HCS 31, p. 130; Tschan, p. 113.)

Bosau, and Arnold of Lübeck, which are also analysed in these studies and which were all related to the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen.

Thereafter, the Introduction gives an overview of the paradigmatic changes in the studies of the Christianisation of the Nordic and Baltic region, paying special attention to the research that has highlighted the role of cultural representations and practices in the expansion movement. It also touches upon the transformations of the crusade studies.

In more detail, the following subchapters discuss two approaches, which have been more widely used for examining the role of culture in the conquest and conversion at the Nordic and Baltic frontiers. The first of those concerns the function of literary representations in legitimising new religious, social, and dynastic formations, and their contribution to the so-called intertextual integration of the peripheries. The subchapter also brings examples from the Hamburg-Bremen histories, discussing various motifs, which link the narrative about the conquest and conversion of these lands to the Christian historiographical and geographical discourse. It also addresses the dynamics in the use of various schemata. The formative role of textual authorities is also analysed in more detail in the Article One (Kaljundi 2008).

The next subchapter discusses the approaches to the role of other, non-literary cultural practices in the conversion of the Baltic Sea and Nordic area. Among these studies the interest towards space as a medium for manifesting the new Christian rule stands out. The Articles Two, Three and Four (Kaljundi 2009, 2013, and forthcoming) analyse how our chroniclers represent also other kinds of symbolic practices to contribute to conversion, religious warfare, and community formation. Drawing on these articles, the subchapter brings additional examples based on the same textual corpus, as well as discusses the overall dynamics in the references to various performances.

Thereafter, the Introduction offers a more theoretically oriented discussion concerning the analysis of medieval rituals on the basis of history writing. It argues that because it is impossible to know whether the described rituals actually took place, we should instead focus on the ways in which their historiographical representations enable to analyse the meaning and significance of the rituals. We claim that their frequent representations suggest that ritual demonstrations were considered to play an important role in the Christianisation process. In addition, in the chronicles the role of rituals is in many ways similar to the role of history writing, as both of them are aimed at confirming the authority of the new rule and mostly do this by recalling the sacred past.

We argue that thereby our chronicles reveal an understanding that these contacts with the sacred past should be manifested through various media: through textual quotations, but also through rituals and other performances. As discussed more concretely in the respective subchapter, this kind of a reading of the medieval historians' representations of rituals is partly based on cultural memory studies. These studies have emphasised that the

formation of effective memorial figures is based on their remediation in various – e.g. textual, visual, or performative – cultural media.

While it has become customary to use the concept of cultural memory for analysing the modern uses of the past, this approach seems to offer good perspectives for analysing medieval materials. It also enables to see history writing as just one medium of activating a dialogue with the past, which is used in parallel with rituals, liturgies, or other kinds of performances and ceremonies.

The cultural memory approach also ties together all the studies presented in this thesis, as the last subchapter of the Introduction looks at the early modern and modern cultural memory of medieval expansion histories. This also is the chief topic of the two last studies, Articles Five (Kaljundi [forthcoming in 2016]) and Six (Kaljundi and Kļaviņš 2011) included into this thesis. The afterlife of these medieval stories also reveals well that any kind of transmission and remediation are inseparable from transformation, as what passes on also changes. Yet the fact that every new adaptation also transforms the meaning of stories, figures, and tropes concerns already the medieval appropriations of the sacred history. The issues of continuity, change, and dynamics shall also be addressed throughout the Introduction.

Contexts: Christianisation of the Nordic and Baltic regions

All the studies presented in this thesis in some way or another concern the history writing of the conquest and conversion in the Baltic Sea region, mainly focusing on the texts produced by the clerics related to the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen. In order to discuss the emergence of this regional historiography, we should briefly sketch the main developments of the Christian expansion in this region. This allows to contextualise the transformation of history writing at the backdrop of the progress of the Christianisation, including the impact of the crusade ideologies and institutions from the twelfth century onwards. The questions concerning continuity and change shall be addressed throughout the following subchapters in connection to historical events, their historiographical representations, as well as the changes in the conceptualisation of warfare and mission.

The following historical overview looks at the conversion period of the Baltic Sea region in a broader Nordic context. Yet, the outline can only be very brief, as any extensive treatment of these topics would be beyond the scope of this study.[11] The Christianisation of the Nordic and Baltic Sea region

[11] Due to a remarkably grown interest, the recent decades have produced a large number of new research about the conversion period in the Nordic and Baltic Sea realm. An historiographically orientated discussion about the current state of research is given in the next subchapter.

was a large and complicated process. Especially in the Wendic and the Eastern Baltic territories, it also was a controversial one, as there the conversion of the native population developed hand in hand with the conquest and colonisation of their land.

In terms of scale, the Christianisation of the Nordic and Baltic realm has even been compared to the expansion of the Roman Empire, or the European colonialism in the early modern and modern period (Blomkvist 2005: 27). Even if this might be an exagerration, the geographical dimensions of this process were considerably vast.

In the medieval context, the conversion of this area was part of the expansion of Latin Christianity that started around the year 1000 and included the other border areas of Europe, such as the British Isles, Iberia, and Central-Eastern Europe. Even though religious terms such as Christianisation or conversion are most often used for designating this process, it should be emphasised that the medieval expansion meant not only the spread of faith, but also the political, institutional, and cultural integration of the frontiers into the structures emblematic to the Latin Christian societies.[12] The Nordic and Baltic areas were no exception in this.

The Christianisation of the Nordic and Baltic Sea region is often discussed together. This tendency mirrors the recent academic and political trends, but the tradition of viewing the two areas together goes back well into the Middle Ages.[13] Certainly there also exist close historical connections. Yet there are some significant differences between the Christianisation of the present day Scandinavian lands, and the territories of the Western Slavs, Prussians, Lettgallians, Livs, Estonians, and Finns. In Scandinavia, Christianity was first accepted by local elites and then obliged upon their people.[14] A similar process happened in Central Europe. In contrast, the Slavic and Eastern Baltic peoples were converted and colonised by their Christian neighbours.[15] The current study focuses mainly on the conversion and colonisation of this group.

The expansion of Latin Christianity into the Nordic and Baltic realm also was a long process. For the most part, it took place roughly between 1000 and 1400, starting after the end of the so-called pagan invasions, and ending at around the conversion of Lithuania (1386).

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[12] As shown in e.g. Bartlett 1993; Heinrich-Tamáska, Krohn, Ristow 2012; Kamp, Kroker 2013. Yet, a number of scholars have also poignantly drawn attention to the often forgotten impact of Eastern Christianity on the Christianisation of Europe (Salamon et al. 2012).

[13] David Fraesdorff has well shown how the medieval historians' concept of the North included both today's Northern and Eastern Europe (2002, 2005). Also in scholarly writing, the labelling of the Eastern European, including the Russian territories as 'Northern' continued well into the nineteenth century (Fraesdorff 2002: 331–332; 2005: 111–113).

[14] For broad-scale discussions on the Christianisation of Scandinavia, see Sawyer, Sawyer, and Wood 1987; Tveito 2004; cf. Mortensen 2006a and Berend 2007 for a comparative analysis of Scandinavia and Central Europe, which both witnessed the emergence of indigeneous Christian monarchy.

[15] The general studies on the Christianisation of Slavia being e.g. Vlasto 1970 and Lotter 1977.

However, this process also had a prologue, namely the Saxon wars (772–804), which were lead by Charlemagne (742–814) and which resulted in the subjugation of the Saxons. The Saxon wars set important organisational and ideological examples, especially for the German expansion eastwards (Bartlett 1993: 19–21). Most important of these concerned the connecting of subjugation with Christianisation and the tight involvement of clerical institutions in gaining domination over new lands.

No less important was the legacy of the Carolongian wars on Latin historiography. Their remembrance spread widely, as from the eleventh century onwards Charlemagne assumed the role of the ideal emperor and defender of Christianity (Erdmann 1977: 296–297, McKitterick 2008). Charlemagne was also recalled in crusade writings. Already at Clermont (1095), pope Urban II (r. 1088–1099) draw a parallel between the crusade and the Carolingian wars of conquest. (Riley-Smith 2003: 108–109.)

The Carolingian campaigns against the pagans are also recalled in the Hamburg-Bremen chronicles, which treat the Saxon wars as the founding moment of the Christian and missionary history in this region. The church of Hamburg-Bremen indeed originates from these times, as the see of Bremen had been founded in 789 and that of Hamburg in 831. Destroyed by a Viking attack (845), Hamburg was united with Bremen in 848.[16] Established at the frontier against the non-Christians, these institutions were designed as missionary churches targeted towards the Scandinavian and Slavic territories. Throughout the following centuries, Hamburg-Bremen remained one of the key institutions behind the conquest and conversion in the region, although its position wavered due to the emergence of secular, as well as ecclesiastical rivals (as shall be discussed below).

The expansion of Latin Christianity, yet, did not continue unharmed since the Saxon wars, but was stopped by the disintegration of the Carolingian empire after Charlemagne's death and the invasions of the Muslims, Vikings, and Hungarians. For the Latin Christianity, the ninth and tenth centuries were a period of defensive wars.

Nevertheless, as shown by Carl Erdmann, these difficult times significantly shaped the idea of Christian holy war.[17] Erdmann argued that even though the valorisation of the defence of the church was an old and basically self-explanatory idea, it acquired great importance from the wars against the invaders. As these wars were defensive, the church accorded them a special status and also liturgically distinguished the wars against pagans from other wars.[18]

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[16] Papal confirmation to the union of Hamburg-Bremen arrived in 864. Previously, Bremen had been a suffrage to Cologne, and as the mission of Hamburg-Bremen made little headway in the late ninth century, in the 890s many efforts were made to restore Bremen again to the province of Cologne.

[17] Erdmann 1977: 95–117. Recently, Christopher Tyermann has also stressed the importance of the fight against the pagan invaders in the development of the ideology of religious warfare, saying that it brought 'the practice as well as theory of holy war into urgent prominence' (2007: 38).

[18] In the ninth and tenth centuries, the church introduced the Masses for the war against pagans (Erdmann 1977: 95–117, cf. 26–27). The evolvement of the *Contra Paganos* Masses in the eight until

When the invasions came to an end at around the millennium, a new expansion of Latin Christianity started at its frontiers. This also had an impact on the conceptualisation of warfare. Although the attitude of the church toward fighting remained ambiguous, now the idea of holy war against the heathen was applied to aggressive war. According to Erdmann, namely 'this passage from defensive war to offensive was a decisive moment for the idea of war on heathens' (1977: 96, cf. 117).

The territories of Hamburg-Bremen experienced closely these developments that shaped the Latin theory and practice of religious warfare. They had been subject to the pagan invasions and in the tenth century, they also witnessed the revival of the Christian expansion, which in the Baltic Sea region was directed against the Slavs.

The revival of the campaigns against the Slavs has been traditionally connected to the emergence of the Ottonian dynasty. Already its founder, Henry I (r. 918–936), famous for stopping the Danish and Hungarian assaults, made a number of expeditions against the Slavs in around 928–929. His heir, Otto I (r. 936/963–973) started an attack against the Slavs on a broader scale. By the late tenth century, the Germans had subdued the Slavic tribes dwelling in the area between the rivers of Elbe-Saale, Erzbirge, and Oder-Boder. The Slavic nobility cooperated with the German lords and accepted Christian faith (cf. Lotter 1989: 269–270).

The Ottonian rulers not only revived the fight against the pagans, but also the idea that a king is a defender of Christendom, envisioning themselves as the heirs of Charlemagne. Contemporary sources closely connect the emperor to the church, claiming that his highest duty was to defend the church and to combat neighbouring pagans (Erdmann 1977: 103–104). The Ottonians also revitalised the close connections between the royal and ecclesiastical power, which were first established around the time of Charlemagne (Palazzo 2000: 199–202).

In order to support the German domination in the border areas Otto I strengthened the ecclesiastical network, both revitalising old bishoprics and founding new ones.[19] In around 968, the archdiocese of Magdeburg was established as an additional metropolitan seat for the east.[20] In 968, there

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the tenth centuries is also studied by Amnon Linder (2003: 115–120, 175–177; for the *contra paganos* and *in tempore belli* prayers, see Linder 2003: 115–118). Admittedly, prayers for military success are found already in around the fifth and sixth centuries, when war gains a more prominent place in liturgy (Palazzo 2000: 195–198). Still, their dominant theme was the preservation of peace. The designation of enemies as pagans (*gentes*) emerged in the seventh and eight centuries. Around that time, the prayer for the Roman emperor in the Good Friday liturgy, as well as the votive masses for kings and for times of war started to include an idea of a ruler to whom God should subject the barbarian peoples. (Erdmann 1977: 28–29.)

[19] In around 948, there were founded the dioceses of Hedeby (Ger. Schleswig), Ribe, and Århus, next to Havelburg and Brandenburg.

[20] Magdeburg united the already existing bishoprics of Havelburg and Brandenburg, as well as some new ones, including Merseburg, Zeitz (Naumburg), and Meissen that were also founded in 968. In the early eleventh century, there followed a new wave of establishing bishoprics, such as, for example, Bamburg (c. 1007).

was also founded the diocese of Oldenburg. In the twelfth century, Oldenburg was united with Hamburg-Bremen and had its centre moved to Lübeck. Already later, at the turn of the twelfth and the early thirteenth century, Lübeck became the main harbour for the crusaders heading towards Livonia (see below).

These developments meant that, in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, the aspirations of the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen to dominate over the mission in the Baltic Sea remained unattainable. Around the same time, in the late tenth century, the German expansion towards the Slavic territories also faced a crisis, as they began to lose the areas they had conquered in the east. In medieval historiography, the 'great Slavic revolt' (983) usually serves as the symbol of the loss of the eastern colonies.[21] Thereafter, the restoration of the German ecclesiastical and secular institutions in the Slavic lands was a slow process that met success only in the twelfth century.

Particularly during the reign of archbishop Adalbert (1043–1072), Hamburg-Bremen had aimed for an ecclesiastical monopoly over the Nordic lands. Adalbert promoted the mission with much valour, ordained priests, as well as founded new sees.[22] Yet, his politics failed due to the internal conflicts of Germany, and a wave of new Slavic revolts in the 1060s.[23] As a result, the sees founded by Adalbert were again left vacant for almost a hundred years (1066–1149). The crisis of the German empire, including the Investiture Contest (c. 1075–1122) further hindered the expansion and no active mission took place in the Elbe region during that time. Those times greatly reduced the authority, wealth, and independence of Hamburg-Bremen, and during the twelfth century the see fell under the control of the Saxon dukes.

Another factor that reduced the importance of Hamburg-Bremen was the growing strength of the Scandinavian ecclesiastical structures, and the emerging rivalry between the German and Scandinavian churches in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. First missions to Scandinavia had taken place already in the ninth century, including many clerics from Saxony. Even though missionaries had ended their travels to the North after the start of the Viking invasions in the second half of the same century, it would be wrong to assume that their work had evaporated without a trace (Wood 2001: 16).

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[21] Behind the revolt was a new federation of the Slavs. In the 980s–990s, the already converted Slavs, a group called the Abodrites also began to revolt. The Slavs destroyed the see of Oldenburg, and in 1018 expelled the Christian dynasty of the Nakomids. Only in the 1040s, the rule of this dynasty was gradually restored with the help of the Saxon and Danish rulers.

[22] Three sees (Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and Ratzenburg) were founded in the former area of Oldenburg.

[23] The revolt began c. 1066, with the Abodrites expelling their Christian rulers. The uprising reached as far as Holzatia and Hamburg. It was was accompanied by a revolt of the Redarii that broke out the same year, yet that Slavic tribe was defeated two years later. Henceforth the frontier areas around the Elbe River remained peaceful, and the rule of the Christian Nakomids was once more restored, with the help of the Saxon and Danish rulers. While the Nakomids subdued the Slavic tribes dwelling between Elbe and Oder Rivers until the lowlands of Havel, these peoples were not baptised (Lotter 1989: 273).

The Christianisation of Scandinavia started again in the second half of the tenth century. Now it was a top-down process, lead by the local elites and royalty who were also closely involved in building up the ecclesiastical networks. Due to the connections established during the Viking period, the English and Irish clergy participated in the Christianisation of the Nordic lands, thereby also diminishing the German impact.[24]

The conversion of Denmark had begun in around 960 and by the eleventh century, the number of Danish bishoprics was considerably big.[25] By the early eleventh century, the Norwegian church was also established.[26] The organisation of Swedish clerical structures appears to have taken more time, lasting until the early twelfth century.[27] In 1103/1104, Lund was named an episcopal see for the whole North.[28] The initiative came from the Danish monarchy and the papacy that wished to counterbalance the ambitions of Hamburg-Bremen. Thus the idea was strongly promoted by the Danish king Erik I (d. 1103) who had travelled to Rome to plead the papal curia for a release from the German church.

In the late tenth century, Latin Christianity had also spread to the Central European lands, including Poland, Bohemia and Hungary.[29] In these lands, the establishing of Christian institutions was dominated by a German influence, although they were not subject to German aggression. Christian royal power was also established eastwards, as the Russian grand duke Vladimir had accepted Christianity in 988. Regarding these vast areas, it would, of course, be wrong to speak about a 'full Christianisation' in the sense of a complete cultural change, or the total erasure of old religious beliefs and practices (Wood 2001: 17). Nevertheless, these territories and peoples were gradually integrated into the Christian institutions and networks.

This meant that the situation of the Slavs dwelling next to the Saxon frontiers had grown more and more difficult, as by the twelfth century almost the whole of the Northern and Eastern Europe had been Christianised (cf.

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[24] This particularly holds for Norway and also for Denmark, especially during the reign of Canute the Great (1016–1035).

[25] The year 960 demarcating the baptism of Harald Bluetooth (r. 950–986), even though one also has to take into consideration the promotion of Christian religion and institutions by Sven Forkbeard (d. 1014) and Canute the Great (d. 1035). In Denmark the first bishoprics (Hedeby, Ribe, and Århus) were founded in around 945–985. In 1060, there was established a network of nine bishoprics.

[26] Olaf Tryggvasson (r. 995–1000) became the first baptised king of Norway and Iceland. The first phase of building up the Norwegian clerical organisation was concluded in 1154 with the establishment of the archdiocese of Nidaros (later Trondheim).

[27] In Sweden, the first Christian king was Olaf Skötkonung (r. 995–1022, baptised c. 1008). The first Swedish see was founded c. 1014 in Skara. C. 1130, the ecclesiastical centre was transferred to Uppsala, which became an archdiocese c. 1164. Sawyer and Sawyer 1993: 100–116.

[28] Nilson 2004. Lund ruled ecclesiastically over Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys and Shetland, the Hebrides, and the Island of Man.

[29] In Poland the first bishopric was founded in Poznan in around 968 (in 1000, it was turned into an archdiocese and the see was moved to Gniezno); in Bohemia the first bishopric was founded in Prague in 973 (then as a daughter of the archdiocese of Mainz); and in Hungary in Esztergom in 1001. A cross-disciplinary comparative overview of this process is provided in Stiegemann et al. 2013.

Fletcher 1997: 442–447). In the 1120s, the Poles had made the Pomeranians – a Slavic tribe residing between the Oder and Vistula Rivers – to subject to Christianity. Besides the Western Slavs, only the Eastern Baltic peoples (Prussians, Lithuanians, Livs, Lettgallians, and Estonians) and Finns had remained outside the power structures of Latin Christendom, although they must have been cooperating and communicating with their Christian neighbours much more closely than the Christian sources tell us.

In the 1120s–1130s, the Saxon expansion towards the Slavic territories started newly and this time the enterprise was backed by the imperial and the local elites. In the late twelfth century, the Saxons ultimately succeeded in the conversion and colonisation of the Slavic lands. Although another Slavic revolt took place in 1138, the Saxons managed to recruit new forces and subdue them.

While previously the German monarchs had been the principal force behind the expansion, from the mid-twelfth century onwards the leading role was taken over by the Saxon rulers. From among them, Henry the Lion, the Duke of Saxony (r. 1142–1180) became an especially ardent patron of the subjugation of the Slavs.[30] The support of the local elites appears to have been the most crucial factor behind the triumph of the whole enterprise, as they were considerably successful in the organisation of conquest. Not less influential were their skills in the recruiting of colonists who developed into a considerable factor in securing German domination over these lands.

In addition, in the 1130s the Danish rulers started campaigns against the Slavs.[31] This further weakened the positions of the Slavs, although the Danish involvement also brought along the rivalry of the Danes and the Saxons.

In the twelfth century, also the influence of one pan-European development starts to influence the Christian ventures in the Baltic Sea region more and more strongly. This is the impact of the crusades. The First Crusade to the Holy Land taking place in 1096–1102, this enterprise was followed by smaller campaigns to Asia Minor throughout the first half of the twelfth century.

The first preserved record showing the fairly adaptation of crusade ideology in the Nordic and Baltic region is the so-called Magdeburg appeal. It calls to fight against the pagan Wends and it has been dated to the years 1107/1108.[32] We do not know much about the making, or the effects of this call, which seems to originate from the circles of the archbishop of Magdeburg (Constable 2008b: 199–200).

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[30] Henry the Lion's approach to the conversion of the Slavs is analysed in Lotter 1980. The other local leader who contributed much to the conquest of the Slavic territories is Albert the Bear (c. 1100–1170), Margrave of Brandenburg (and briefly Duke of Saxony, r. 1138–1142). In the early twelfth century, emperor Lothar (r. 1125–1137) also granted royal support for the missionary initiatives.

[31] In 1135, the Danish king Erik II (r. 1134–1137) had conquered the Rügen Island and made its inhabitants to accept conversion. After the king and his army left Rügen, the islanders, yet, returned to paganism, at least according to the Christian sources.

[32] See Constable 2008b. For the first edition of this text, see Wattenbach 1882: 624–626. An English translation of the charter is provided by Giles Constable, see Translation of the Magdeburg Charter.

Even though previously many scholars have argued that the appeal belongs to the German imperial tradition of fighting the holy war, it seems plausible to believe that the letter shows familiarity with the ideology of the First Crusade.[33] The letter presents a number of elements emblematic to the crusade discourse: it depicts the cruelty of the pagan Slavs and exhorts, with the help of many biblical citations, the audience to fight the infidel, associating 'spiritual welfare and material gain with the defence of Christianity and warfare against pagans and infidels' (Constable 2008b: 197). Even though the appeal did not result in any known campaign, it still provides an important witness to the spread of the crusade ideas to the Baltic Sea realm.[34]

During the Second Crusade (1147–1149) there indeed materialised a crusade campaign to the Baltic Sea region, which was also authorised by the pope. In 1147, the letter *Divini dispensatione consilii*, issued by Eugene III (r. 1145–1153), launched three crusades: one into the Holy Land, the second into Iberia, and the third against 'the Slavs and other pagans' in the Baltic Sea realm. Often, the latter expedition is also called the Wendic crusade. This was the first simultaneous extension of the crusading effort to a number of fronts, corresponding to the idea of the universal expansion of Christendom.

The Second Crusade was one of the great military efforts of the Middle Ages (cf. Tyerman 2007: 269), but it also was one of its greatest failures. It was not a success in the Baltic Sea region either. In this area, a number of Saxon lords and bishops took part in the campaign, yet did not achieve establishing Christian dominion over the borderlands. Some Slavic groups, however, promised to accept the new faith. The campaign also resulted in the restoration of frontier bishoprics of Oldenburg and Mecklenburg (1149).

The Second Crusade had nevertheless established the precedent for crusading against the heathens living around the Baltic Sea. Still, there is no unanimity among the scholars concerning the question to which extent we can regard the twelfth-century conquest and colonization of the Baltic Sea region as part of the crusade movement. Also the impact of the crusades on the overall progress of the expansion is debated.

Carl Erdmann, for example, has argued that at that time Germany did not offer good soil for the spread of crusade ideology, due to the view of the monarch as the sole defender of Christianity, as well as the Investiture Contest that had questioned papal authority (1977: 104–105, 291–292). In contrast, other scholars have claimed that the crusades provided an important model for religious warfare, and that their ideological and institutional examples were of help in organising the campaigns and recruiting the warriors (e.g. Lotter 1989: 275). As we shall discuss in more detail below, despite the spread of the more inclusive, pluralist definition of

[33] For a synthesis of this discussion, see Constable 2008b: 203–206.

[34] Christopher Tyerman has also suggested that the appeal might have had an impact on the oral transmission of crusade ideas in this region (2007: 246).

the crusades, the debate whether the twelfth-century campaigns should be regarded as crusades, also goes on today.

Following the Second Crusade, no traces of any crusade proclamations have been preserved for about twenty years from the Baltic Sea region. Curiously, however, this period – i.e. the 1150s and 1160s – witnessed a breakthrough in the conquest and conversion of the Slavic territories.[35] During these decades, the frontier between the Saxons and the Slavs was slowly pushed forward and enforced by the establishing of new centres of power.

The Saxons, however, were not the sole contenders of Slavia. In these regions, the Polish rulers also took part in religious warfare, although their participation is often neglected.[36] The Danes also continued their expansion into the Slavic territories. They were especially active during the reign of Valdemar I (r. 1157–1182), when Denmark grew into the strongest military power in the region. The Danish supremacy was based on the strength of their naval forces, the consolidation of monarchy, and the close cooperation between the Valdemar dynasty and the clerical elite. Valdemar found a particularly powerful ally in Absalon, bishop of Roskilde (r. 1158–1192) and archbishop of Lund (r. 1178–1201) who was a strong supporter of the missionary campaigns to the Slavs. (Lind et al. 2004: 29–50.) Under the leadership of Valdemar I, the Danes made more than twenty campaigns against the Slavs. The landmarks of the Danish expansion are the conquest of the Rügen Island in 1168/1169[37], and the subjugation of the Pomeranian Slavs in around 1185.[38]

The conquest of the Slavic territories also meant that there were no heathens left in the immediate vicinity of Saxony and Denmark and the borderline between Christianity and paganism moved to the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. Suggesting the dynamics and energy of the already existing expansion movement, the crusades to Livonia and Estonia started almost immediately after the subjugation of Slavia.

Moreover, the crusaders arrived to the Eastern Baltic mostly from Saxony and Denmark, i.e. the lands that had been promoting the previous wars of conquest.[39] Due to the participation of the Danish king, there were dynastical links between the earlier and the Eastern Baltic campaigns. In addition, the same clerical institutions continued their involvement in and support for the expansion. The bishopric of Riga[40] (Livonia) was established as the daughter of the church of Hamburg-Bremen, and the bishopric of Tallinn (Estonia) was made a suffrage of Lund (Nyberg 1983). From among the international

[35] C. 1158–1160 the Slavic Abodrites were subjugated. While the Abodrites revolted c. 1163/1164, this did not alter the course of events, and the Slavs were ultimately subjugated in the 1160s.

[36] During the past years, a number of scholars have called to re-evaluate the Polish participation in religious warfare around the Baltic, such as Gładysz 2012 and von Güttner-Sporzyński 2014.

[37] The question whether the campaign took place in 1168, or in 1969 is discussed in Lind et al. 2004: 77.

[38] The latter enterprise, however, took place already under the leadership of Canute VI (r. 1182–1202).

[39] The Danish army also included some Wendic warriors, as well as a number of German knights.

[40] At first, the see was founded in Ikšķile [Ger. Üksküll], and only thereafter moved to Riga (see below).

institutions that had been involved in the subjugation of the Slavs, the Cistercian Order was actively participating also in the Livonian enterprise.[41]

At present, we know much more about the German crusades and mission in the Eastern Baltic, as no contemporary Danish narrative sources have been preserved. Yet, the Danish missionary efforts seem to have been predated the Germans in Livonia.[42] Judging from the sources that have been preserved, Eskil, the archbishop of Lund (r. 1137–1177) was the first clerical leader aspiring towards domination over the Eastern Baltic. Some time before 1171–1172, Eskil consecrated Fulco, a Benedictine monk from Montier-la-Celle as the 'bishop of the Estonians'.[43] While this happened in Sens, France, is not known whether Fulco ever reached Estonia, or not.[44] Considering that the Danish king Valdemar I was at the same time still occupied with subjugating the Wends, the initiative seems not well planned (Tarvel 1998). However, as Eskil did not enjoy good relations to the king, the Estonian enterprise could also have been initiated without any considerable royal support.[45]

Exactly at the same time, the first known proclamation of a papally authorized crusade to the Eastern Baltic was also made. In 1171/1172, pope Alexander III (r. 1159–1181) issued a series of letters concerning the mission in the Eastern Baltic.[46] One of those letters, *Non parum animus* was addressed to the Christian rulers and peoples of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.[47] The letter also promises an indulgence.[48] Next to this, it

[41] Quite early, c. 1205–1208 there was founded the Cistercian convent of Daugavgrīva, which was the first monastic institution in these lands. Many outstanding missionaries and members of the clerical elite in Livonia were Cistercians. The influence of the Cistercians on the Livonian mission and crusades is studied in Schmidt 1941, Bourgeois 2005, Tamm 2009b; and their role in communicating information about Livonia is analysed in Tamm 2011b: 200–203.

[42] If we leave aside the earlier Viking campaigns, then already in 1159, the Danes, lead by king Valdemar I are known to have made a raid to Curonia.

[43] This dating derives from the letters of pope Alexander III concerning the mission to Estonia (see below). It has also been suggested that this possibly occurred already in the 1160s. For Fulco, as little as there is to know about him, see Johansen 1951: 90–94; Rebane 1984, 1989, 2001; Nyberg 1998: 60–61. Despite coming from a French monastery, he was likely of Scandinavian origin.

[44] We can, however, establish from the sources that Fulco made it to Denmark, as there he met Absalon who became the next archbishop of Lund (r. 1178–1201) after Eskil.

[45] In 1161–1168, Eskil was exiled to France as a supporter of pope Alexander III, while king Valdemar I supported the counter-popes promoted by the German emperor Friedrich Barbarossa (r. 1152–1190). After his return to Denmark, Eskil's controversies with the king did not stop and finally he had to resign. Some scholars have also suggested that Eskil's interest in mission might have been inspired and influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux (Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007: 53).

[46] Three of them concern Estonia and two of those focus on Fulco. In the Estonian historiography, one of those letters has gained much attention due to the fact that it asks the Stavanger monastery in Norway to send a certain monk Nicolaus to assist Fulco, as this Nicolaus was of Estonian origin (LUB 1, no. iv, c. 5). Hence Nicolaus is the first Christianized Estonian mentioned in the written sources. In the other letter concerning Fulco (LUB 1, no. vi, c. 7), the pope urges the Danes to provide money to the newly appointed bishop. The third letter, calling for a crusade against the Estonians, is discussed below. The papal attitudes towards the mission and crusade in the Baltic region during the pontificate of Alexander III are thoroughly analysed in Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007: 52–65, 2005.

[47] LUB 1, no. v, c. 5–6.

appropriates the rhetoric and vocabulary characteristic to the crusades, presenting the campaign against the Estonians as a war of defence. The letter starts by stressing the threat that the Estonians and other pagans pose to the neighbouring Christians, and at the end, calls the audience to defend the Christian faith. It also urges the crusaders to expand the faith, coming close to proclaiming a missionary war.[49]

The fact that the letter is not addressed specifically to the Danish king, but to all the Scandinavian rulers could also suggest that the archbishop Eskil promoted the crusade independently from the king. The lack of Danish royal support to these plans also offers an explanation why the letters did not lead to any expeditions. From around that time, no traces about any major campaigns towards the Eastern Baltic have been preserved, although some smaller raids of the Scandinavians to Livonia or Estonia did take place.[50]

On a larger scale, the campaigning first started not in the Livonian territories around the Daugava River. These expeditions, which involved the German knights, merchants, and clergy, started in the last decades of the twelfth century. At around that time, many groups were contesting for power in the Livonian lands, inhabited by Livs, Lettgallians, and Semgallians. Livonia enjoyed a favourable location on the crossing of the trade routes that connected the Western Europe with Russia and this made the elites from Gotland, Germany and Russia interested in gaining control over these territories. The Livs were tributary to the Russian princes of Polotsk.[51] The two other Russian centres, Jersika and Koknese aimed towards controlling the Daugava River. At the same time, the raids of the Lithuanians to Livonia also became more frequent.

In the 1180s, an Augustinian called Meinhard from the convent of Segeberg arrived to Livonia in the company of some German merchants.[52] He

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[48] For the participants, the pope promised a one-year indulgence (equated to the remission granted to the visitors of the Holy Sepulchre), but for the ones who die in battle, he guaranteed a full indulgence. As argued by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, the indulgence granted to the Baltic crusaders was fairly small, and in this Alexander III clearly differs from Eugene III who had issued a plenary indulgence to crusaders fighting in the Baltic region (2007: 62). For a fuller analysis of the indulgence promised to the Livonian crusaders in comparison to the indulgences Alexander III granted to the Holy Land and Iberian crusaders, see Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007: 61–64.

[49] As argued in Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007: 61. A thorough analysis of the context and content of this letter is provided in Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007: 55–56, 59–65, cf. 2005: 247–50.

[50] There are, for example, records of the Scandinavian campaigns to these lands from the 1180s. C. 1185–1188, the Norwegian prince Eiríkir organized a campaign to Estonia, which an early thirteenth century Norwegian source calls a looting raid against the pagans. In 1184, the Danish king Canute VI planned a campaign against Estonia, which was yet cancelled. The mentioning of the campaigns to the Eastern Baltic in the Scandinavian sagas is analysed in Jonuks 2005.

[51] A detailed analysis of the role of the Russians in thirteenth-century Livonia, as well as of their relations with the natives and the Germans is given in Selart 2015.

[52] For Henry's representation of Meinhard see HCL I, pp. 1–7. For studies on Meinhard's mission in Livonia, see Angermann 1986; Helmann 1989b, 1989c; Hucker 1989a. Henry's chronicle tells of German merchants on the Daugava River at the beginning of the 1180s, yet, the Western merchants must have known the region already earlier, due to the trading contacts with the Russians. The

settled in the lower reaches of the Daugava River, which became the centre of Christian rule in this region. Meinhard started the mission among the Livs, but also organising the building of a church and a castle in Ikšķile, around 40 km upstream from the Daugava River. In 1186, the archbishop of Bremen, Hartwig II (r. 1185–90/92, 1194–1207) consecrated Meinhard as the bishop of the Livs.[53] Thereafter Meinhard initiated the founding of another castle in Mārtiņsala (Ger. Holme), which was located on one of the islands on the Daugava River, close to Ikšķile.

Even though the medieval histories of the early mission in Livonia emphasize Meinhard's peaceful aims, the building of stone fortifications suggests aspirations towards controlling the area.[54] Conflicts with the local Livs indeed followed soon. Yet, these enabled him to ask papal approval for organizing a crusade.[55] Due to Meinhard's death (1196), the crusade was realized only during the reign of the next bishop, Bertold (r. 1196–1198), who was an abbot of the Cistercian convent of Loccum (Saxony).[56]

This first German crusade in Livonia was fought in 1198.[57] Despite the fact that the expedition was not a success in military terms, it still contributed to the German enterprise in Livonia. Their church had obtained a material as well symbolic foothold in the Livic lands, as it possessed strongholds, as well as religious edifices. It also enjoyed the authority of being the founder of the first Christian congregation in these territories. As bishop Bertold was killed during the crusade campaign, the Livonian church had gained its first martyr. By the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the German

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cooperation of the merchants and clergy is often suggested as one of the key factors for the success of mission, e.g. Kala 2001: 7–8, Bartlett 1993: 309, cf. Munzinger 2006.

[53] In 1188, pope Clemens II (r. 1187–1191) confirmed the consecration of the new bishop.

[54] The nature of the early mission in Livonia is discussed in Helmann 1989a, 1989b; Jensen, C.S. 2001; Zühlke 2009.

[55] Henry argues that pope Celestine III (r. 1191–1198) granted 'the remission of all sins to all those who would take the cross' to help bishop Meinhard's mission. 'When the supreme pontiff heard how many had been baptized, he thought that they should not be deserted and decreed that they ought to be forced to observe the faith which they had freely promised. He granted, indeed, the remission of all sins to all those who would take the cross and go to restore that newly founded church.' (HCL I.12, p. 7; Brundage, p. 30.) Even though there has been preserved a papal letter to the Livonian missionaries from Celestine, dating to the year 1193, it makes no mentioning of a crusade or indulgence, but simply urges to continue the Livonian mission. LUB I, no. xi, c. 11–13; cf. Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007: 67–69, Bombi 2008a.

[56] Bertold's episcopacy and mission are represented in HCL II.1–6, pp. 8–11. For Bertold, see Hucker 1989b.

[57] HCL II.3–8, pp. 9–11 and ACS V.30, pp. 214–15. In connection to this campaign, chroniclers emphasise the papal support. Henry argues that the papal grant given to Meinhard was reissued for Bertold. According to Henry, Bertold 'bewailed both to the lord pope and to the bishop, as well as to all the faithful of Christ, the ruin of the church of Livonia. The lord pope, therefore, granted remission of sins to all those who should take the cross and arm themselves against the perfidious Livonians. And he sent letters about these matters to Bishop Berthold as he had to his predecessor.' (HCL II .3, p. 9; Brundage, p. 32.) Arnold of Lübeck states that Celestine's grant of indulgences on behalf of Bertold was equated with those granted for the Jerusalem war (ACS V.30, pp. 214–215). There have, however, survived no such letters. There is a bull by Innocent III from 1199, but this only offers indulgences equivalent to those grated to pilgrims to Rome.

project had succeeded in achieving some sort of papal, as well as imperial support.[58]

In 1199, Hartwig II of Bremen consecrated his nephew, Albert of Buxhövden (r. 1199–1229) as the new bishop of Livonia.[59] This energetic propagator of religious warfare started to organize regular crusade campaigns into Livonia. He also strengthened the Christian institutions in Livonia. In 1201, there was founded the city of Riga, which also became the new centre of the bishopric (HCL VI.3, p. 17). In the early years of Bishop Albert's reign, in 1202, the order of the Sword Brethren was established, following the example of the Templers and the Johannites.[60] Similarly to the role of the military orders in the Holy Land, the Sword Brethren became an efficient force due to its permanent mobilisation and good knowledge of local conditions. It also grew into a remarkable political power on a local level. This shortly led to conflicts between the Order and the bishop of Riga, which shaped much of the history of medieval Livonia.

Albert originated from the *ministeriales* of the archbishopric of Bremen, as did the majority of the leading figures of the German mission and crusades in Livonia, including Meinhard and Bertold. This group of people consisted of Northern German knights and clergy. Despite holding leading positions in Bremen, Lübeck, and Segeberg and having played a significant role in the matters of the archbishopric since the late eleventh century (Trüper 2000), their were not members of the elite.

In Livonia, the *ministeriales* eventually managed to outmanoeuvre the representative of the strongest power in the region, the Danish king Valdemar II (r. 1202–1241), who also became involved in the Livonian campaigns in the late 1190s.[61] As said, the Danes had a strong royal tradition of fighting the pagans and their interest into the Livonian and Estonian territories predated the German one.

The Danes were also active around the time the first German crusade to Estonia. In 1195–1196, the Danes, together with the Swedes, organized a campaign, which was originally targeted against Curonia, but due to a storm ended up in Northern Estonia.[62] By 1201 the Danish king had also conquered

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[58] According to Henry, a grant in support of the Livonian crusades was discussed at Philip of Swabia's (r. 1177–1208) Christmas court in 1199, which decided to give the Livonian crusaders a plenary remission of sins that was equal to that granted for the Jerusalem crusade. HCL III.2, p. 12. This grant could have, hence, been provided either by Celestine III, or Innocent III.

[59] For Bishop Albert see Gnegel-Waitschies 1958.

[60] *Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia*. See Benninghoven 1965. The question concerning the founder of the order has been much debated (see Bombi 2008b). Henry states that it was the Cistercian Theoderic, one of the key figures of the Livonian mission and the abbot of Daugavgrīva (HCL VI.5, p. 18). According to some other sources, the order was founded by bishop Albert of Riga.

[61] According to the Danish annals, in 1196 or 1197 their King Canute VI made a campaign to Estonia.

[62] However, little is known about this expedition, as the source material favours the German enterprise and thus does not represent it as a proper crusade. See HCL I.13, p. 7. According to Henry, this expedition was planned together by the duke of Sweden (probably Birger Bosa (d. 1202)), the Germans, the Gothlanders and the bishop (it remains unclear whether the bishop in question refers to Theoderic, the future bishop of Estonia, or Meinhard). According to Danish annals, King Canute IV launched a

Schleswig-Holstein together with Lübeck and was thus able to control the only German port at the Baltic Sea. This, however, also meant that the Danish king was closely involved in fighting over Northern Germany.[63]

It has been suggested that one of the reasons behind the success of the Rigan *ministeriales* vis-à-vis the Danish king lies namely in their lower status, which made them more flexible and also more independent in their manoeuvrings (Selart 2012: 39). As shall be argued below, the Rigans also were successful in connecting their enterprise in Livonia with the contemporary trends of the crusade movement, making effective use of the crusade discourse and ideologies. Their most important chronicler, Henry of Livonia, also stresses the importance of adapting the crusade rituals.

The bishop Albert also was successful in finding the support of various leaders to the Livonian crusaders, as well as in the recruitment of warriors who mostly originated from Northern Germany. He crossed the Baltic Sea at least 27 times in order to find and transport new crusaders to Livonia.

By 1205–1208 the Rigan crusaders and clerical leaders had managed to subjugate the various groups of the Livs and Lettgallians either by the use of force, or by making alliances. This was not in the favour of the neighbouring rulers, but the princes of Polotsk and Jersika, as well as the Lithuanians did not succeed in stopping the growing hegemony of Riga. Their dominion spread upstream on the Daugava River, and also took over the territories previously ruled by the Russians.[64]

In 1208, the crusade campaigns to Estonia started. The crusade armies were comprised of the crusaders, the Sword Brethren and the other Christians from Riga, but also of the newly converted Livs and the Lettgallians. The conquest of Estonia lasted for about twenty years.[65] For a long time neither the Estonian, nor the Rigan side witnessed a definitive success, and this lead to years of almost constant campaigning. It also brought along the conflict of the German, Danish, as well as Russian and even Swedish interests.

The years up until the early 1220s were successful to the Rigan crusaders and the Sword Brethren, who managed to conquer and convert much of

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campaign to Estonia in 1196–1197. It is unknown whether these are two separate raids (one Swedish and the other Danish), or not – in which case Henry simply kept silent about the participation of the Danish king. See Tarvel 1998: 56, Selart 2008: 201. Henry stresses that the Swedes preferred to take tribute from the heathens in stead of converting them, which is very similar to the accusations Henry makes towards the Swedes and the Danes regarding their campaigning in Estonia in the 1220s (see below, cf. Selart 2008: 201).

[63] For Northern Germany, the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were a time of almost constant power struggles, as the exiling (1182) and death (1195) of Henry the Lion had left these lands without a strong ruler. The contenders included, next to the Danish king, also the Northern German princes, the clerical lords, and the parties supporting either the Welf or the Staufen dynasties.

[64] In 1209, the Rigans conquered from the Russians the castle of Koknese. It had belonged to the Russian Prince Vjatshko who at first had allied, but then conflicted with Riga. The same year, the Prince of Jersika, Vsevolod became a vassal of bishop Albert of Riga.

[65] The descriptions of the crusades against the Estonians also take up the majority of Henry's chronicle, about two thirds of the text (HCL XII.6–XXX, pp. 61–222).

Southern Estonia in 1215–1220. Towards the end of the decade, yet, the Danes finally managed to gain a foothold in Estonia.[66] In 1219, King Valdemar II landed in northern Estonia. After defeating the Estonians, the Danes established their outpost at the place where Tallinn stands today. In 1219–1223, they achieved considerable success in subduing and baptising the people in Northern and Western Estonia. While the Danish king aimed to establish his supremacy over all of Livonia, this lead to conflicts with the Church of Riga. No permanent agreement was reached, while all the parties – the king, the bishop and the Sword Brethren – tried to secure their positions by making various alliances.

Nevertheless, the Danish situation grew weaker, as in 1223–1225 King Valdemar II was imprisoned by the count of Schwerin.[67] At the same time, bishop Albert asked the pope to name a new legate to the region.[68] The legate William of Modena visited Livonia in 1225–1226, but did not succeed in establishing a permanent peace between Riga and Denmark.[69] In his role a mediator, William however appears to have favoured the Sword Brethren and the Church of Riga, who now succeeded in taking over the Danish territories in Northern Estonia. By 1224, they had also largely re-conquered the rest of Estonia. In 1227, the Church of Riga and the Sword Brethren subjugated the Saaremaa Island, thereby establishing their control over all of the Estonian territories.

The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia ends with this event.[70] As the modern histories of the Livonian crusades are often greatly based on this narrative, frequently the period of Livonian crusades is identified with the period from the 1180s till the year 1227. Yet, as shown above, the planning of the crusades to Livonia and Estonia had started well before the 1180s, which is the starting point of Henry's narrative. Similarly, the fighting did not end with the year 1227, but continued throughout the entire thirteenth century, including both the revolts of local peoples, as well as the conflicts between Christian forces.

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[66] Previously, the Danes are known to have made two campaigns to Saaremaa in 1206 and 1215, yet had to leave the island on both occasions. The first crusade campaign (1206) was sanctioned by the pope and accompanied by Anders Sunesen, the archbishop of Lund (r. 1201–1224). The fact that Anders had gained the right to name bishops to the neighbouring pagan lands refers to missionary aspirations. Possibly even King Valdemar II participated in that campaign. The relations between the Danes and the Saaremaa people are analysed in Mägi 2011, which argues that their relationship was friendlier than Henry describes it.

[67] Also after his release, the king first had to re-establish his power over the northern German territories that he had lost meanwhile.

[68] Previously, Anders Sunesen of Lund had acted as a legate in this region. As the chronicler Henry of Livonia argues that naming a new legate was not a papal initiative but bishop Albert's request (HCL XXIX.2, p. 208), it has been assumed that the bishop did this in order to secure his position.

[69] William was named as a legate in 1224. His appointment and legatine mission is discussed in Brundage 1991; Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007: 170–176; and Mäesalu 2011, 2013.

[70] In Henry's chronicle, the victorious campaigns to the islands of Muhu and Saaremaa (1227) signify the ultimate triumph of the Rigan mission (HCL XXX, pp. 215–222).

In 1227, Valdemar II was defeated by the Northern German princes in the battle of Bornhöved and lost the majority of his territories in Germany. By the end of 1227 the Church of Riga and the Sword Brethren had conquered the Northern Estonian lands, as well as Tallinn, and thereby the Danes left the land.[71] Yet, the power struggles between the Order and the bishop of Riga started shortly. The conflicts had begun already earlier, but the rivalry escalated after the death of bishop Albert (1229). Characteristic to these struggles was that the conflicting parties repeatedly formed various alliances, which occasionally also involved the Russians.[72]

The structures of power were re-organised, as in 1236 an army of the Sword Brethren, crusaders and Pskov was seriously defeated by the Samogitians and Semgallians in the battle of Saule in Northern Lithuania. Almost half of the Sword Brethren were killed (around 50 men), and those who remained were joined with the Teutonic Order in 1237. This integrated the Livonian territories more closely to one of the most powerful institutions of medieval Europe.

The same events also lead to an agreement with the Danish king.[73] According to the Stensby treaty (1238) the king was given back three provinces in Northern Estonia (Harjumaa, Rävala, Virumaa), while he had to grant the fourth province (Järvamaa) to the Order. This lasted until 1346, when the territories belonging to the Danish king were sold to the Teutonic Order after the so-called St. George's Night Uprising (1343–1345), which is also discussed in Article Five (Kaljundi [forthcoming in 2016]).

For the local peoples the terms of subjugation had been different, even though all groups experienced changes in the hierarchies of power and taxation. In southern parts of Estonia, where the fighting had been the hardest, the old elite was killed or lost its position. In Northern and Western Estonia, the native nobility likely retained some of its power and a small proportion of them integrated into the German-speaking elites. The elites of the Saaremaa Island appear to have preserved an even better position until the above-mentioned St. George's Night Uprising.[74]

Also after 1227, Livonia remained a frontier area that had close connections to crusading. Often the military aspirations of the Christian warriors were targeted against the territories of Orthodox Russia. In Russia, the raids of the Mongols, starting in 1237, had lead to major changes. In 1240, the Mongols conquered Kiev and continued their march towards

[71] The Sword Brethren started to rule over Northern Estonia, whereas Saaremaa and Läänemaa went under the rule of the bishop of Riga and the Order.

[72] Upon the request of the Danish king, a new papal legate, Baldwin from Aulne-sur-Sambre visited Livonia in 1230–1234. Yet, he did not succeed in solving the conflict. In 1234, Baldwin was replaced with the aforementioned William of Modena. For the Russian involvement, see Selart 2015.

[73] Upon this William of Modena was again sent to Northern Europe and an agreement was finally reached.

[74] Among other things, this has been concluded from the thirteenth-century uprisings in Saaremaa (in 1236–1241 and 1261), as well as from the treaties that were made between the old and new elites in order to put an end to these revolts.

Poland and Hungary. Novgorod and Pskov, the neighbours of Livonia, went under the control of the Russian princes who were subject to the Mongol Khans. Starting from the 1240s, the Order and the Livonian knights made a number of campaigns against the Russian territories.[75] In the 1250s, the Swedes also started their raids to the Votian, Ingrian and Carelian lands. The Livonian rulers also had plans for conquering Votian and Ingrian areas, which they however abandoned in the very late thirteenth century.[76]

The strongest contenders of the Germans' and especially the Teutonic Order's hegemony in the region were however located in the south, in Curonia and Samogitia, as well as in Lithuania and Prussia. In 1242–1245, the Order, the Livonian bishops and the Danish vassals subjugated Curonia, while the Eastern Lettgallian territories were divided between the Order and Riga. The Samogitian lands were subjugated in the 1260s[77], and those of the Semgallians by the 1290s[78]. As a final step in this process was the re-establishment of the Teutonic Order's fortress of Dünaburg (close to today's Daugavpils) in 1313. The castle was located in the South-Eastern Lettgallian lands previously controlled by the Lithuanians. Establishing the Order's rule in this area meant that the territories of Christian Livonia had more or less gained the shape that characterised them throughout the remaining Middle Ages. This however did not mean the ending of internal conflicts, which often also involved foreign rulers.[79] Throughout the Middle Ages, no centralisation of power took place in Livonia.

In order to end this overview by returning to the question of continuity and change in the Christianisation process, we should briefly consider to the impact of the crusades. The Livonian campaigns had taken place during the peak of the crusade movement in the Baltic Sea region. The Prussian crusades started at the turn of the 1210s–1220s and since 1226, they were primarily carried out by the Teutonic Order. Also the campaigns of the Swedes against the Finnish and later the Carelian territories were activated at

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[75] In 1240–1241, the Order organized a campaign against the Votian and Novgorodian territories, but was pushed back by Aleksandr Nevski (1221–1263), prince of Novgorod, Kiev, and Vladimir. In 1240, the bishop of Tartu, the Order, and the vassals of Northern Estonia conquered Pskov, which was regained by Aleksandr in 1242. The same year Aleksandr made a raid to Livonia. The bishop and the Order managed to catch the retreating Russians at the Lake Peipus, but the Russians defeated them in the so-called Battle on Ice (1242). This resulted in a peace treaty, which however did not last for long, the raids starting again in the 1250s.

[76] The Order made attempts to gain control over the Votian territories in the 1260s, which in 1267 led to a new war between Livonia and the Russian princes. In 1296, a peace was made, and the Livonian rulers abandoned their plans for conquering Votian and Ingrian lands. See Selart 2009.

[77] Before this, however, the Samogitians gained a considerable victory in the battle of Durbe (1260), and won another victory in 1261. In 1262, the Samogitians made three expeditions to Livonia together with the Lithuanians.

[78] At first, Semgallia had been subjugated, as well as divided between the Order and the Church of Riga in 1254. Yet, an uprising occurred there in 1259. The wars with the Semgallians continued in the 1270s, and they were finally subjugated only in 1279–1290.

[79] Already in 1297–1330, there occurred the so-called Livonian civil war, which started from a conflict between the Order and the town of Riga. Next to the Livonian bishops, also the Lithuanian and Pskovian forces participated on the side of Riga, whereas the Order allied with Novgorod.

around the same time and from the mid-thirteenth century, they were labelled as crusades.[80] The Danes likewise made campaigns to Finland (1191 and 1202), as well as organized an expedition to Prussia (1210).

The late twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries also were the heyday of the crusades in general. While the failure of the Second Crusade had brought along a decline of the crusade effort, then the news about the fall of Jerusalem (1187) and most of Palestine gave rise to new enthusiasm. Numerous new expeditions headed towards the Outremer.[81] Next to the revival of campaigning in the traditional crusade fronts, including the Iberian Peninsula, crusades expanded to other theatres of war, such as the Eastern Baltic. At around the same time, in the early thirteenth century, the crusades were also proclaimed against the heretics in Southern France.

In parallel to the growing scale of campaigning, the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries witnessed the consolidation of the organisation of the crusades. This increased the coherence of their propaganda and preaching, recruitment and financing, as well as the indulgences and privileges granted to the participants. (Tyerman 1998.)

These changes also affected the Livonian crusades. These expeditions were organised in closer cooperation with the papal curia, in comparison to the Wendic campaigns. Even though the popes were not actively involved in the planning of the Livonian crusades, the communication between the papacy and the periphery was more active and this left its mark on the course of the expansion.[82] On a broad scale, scholars have highlighted the role of pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) in imposing papal leadership over the crusades and redesigning their ideology and organisation.[83] Below, we also examine his impact on Henry of Livonia's crusade ideology and his vision of the crusade spirituality. Organisationally, however, the Livonian crusades appear to have benefitted more from the politics of the following popes (Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007).

The late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries crusade movement also bore witness to the emergence of a more coherent crusade ideology and legitimisation, vocabulary and ritual. Particularly the thirteenth century was characterised by the development in tandem of both institutional and spiritual aspects of crusading (Maier 1999).

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[80] In 1256/1257, the Swedish king had gained from the pope an approval, which gave the archbishop of Uppsala the right to call for crusades against the Carelians. According to the tradition, the first crusade to Finland took place much earlier, in the 1150s. This story is, however, based on two late thirteenth century legends written in the support of the Church of Turku (Swe. Åbo). The Christianisation of Finland was a much long process that lasted througout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. (Lindkvist 2001: 122–125.)

[81] The campaigns included the so-called Third crusade (1189–1192), the crusade of Henry VI (1197–1198), and the Fourth crusade (1202–1204), as well as the expeditions of the crusaders to Egypt and Tunis.

[82] As shown by Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007; Bombi 2008a, 2007, 2005.

[83] As analysed in many of the studies gathered in the volume Moore 2010, as well as in Moore 2009.

The effect of these changes on the history writing of the expansion in the Baltic Sea region shall be examined more closely in the following subchapters. These discussions are closely related to the ongoing debate concerning the question how much continuity can we see between the earlier missionary warfare and the later crusades in the Baltic Sea region.[84] In the following, we are primarily interested in the transformation of the role of culture in the conceptualisation and legitimisation of conquest and crusading.

We will analyse the textual level, examining the new ideas and vocabulary introduced by the crusades, as well as tracing the transmission of older models and schemata from the earlier expansion discourse in the regional historiographical tradition. Next to this, we will also tackle the ways in which our chronicles reflect the impact of the crusades on the ritualisation of campaigning and mission.

Texts:
The emergence of regional history writing in the realms of Hamburg-Bremen

Concerning the founding narratives of the Christian rule in the Baltic Sea area, the current study examines one particular set of texts. It focuses on the Latin missionary and crusade historiography from the eleventh until thirteenth centuries that was produced by the clerical chroniclers who belonged to the archbishopric of Hamburg Bremen. Despite of their differences, all the authors discussed in this study, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau, and Henry of Livonia originate from the same historiographical tradition, as well as share features typical to clerical history writing. The following pages shall first introduce each author separately and thereafter examine the similarities and variances in the regional expansion discourse.

The founder of the Hamburg-Bremen historiographical tradition was **Adam of Bremen** (d. before 1085), a canon and *magister* of the Bremen cathedral school. In around 1075–1076, he authored 'The History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen' (*Gestae Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*). This text, largely written in the genre of *gesta episcorum*, presents the founding history of the Hamburg-Bremen church in four books.

[84] As said, while some authors argue for considering the twelfth-century campaigns as crusades, others have called to distinguish between the twelfth- and thirteenth-century expeditions. For example, Christopher Tyerman has argued that 'Defining all anti-pagan warfare a crusading in Scandinavia is more than a semantic choice; it presents a category muddle, is misleading has historical shorthand and obscures the novelty and progress of specifically crusading ideas in northern Europe in the two or three generation after 1150.' (Tyerman 2011: 27.)

The geographical and chronological scope of the chronicle is wide, as it covers the history of eastern-central and Nordic Europe from the times of the Saxon wars until the 1070s, focusing on the spread of Christianity into these territories.

The first book of chronicle starts with the Saxon wars and the conversion of the Saxons, tells of the founding of the bishoprics of Bremen and Hamburg, their first missions to the North, and the end of the missionary activities due to the invasions of the Vikings and Hungarians. The second book narrates the Saxon mission to the Nordic and Slavic lands in the Ottonian period, as well as the German politics in around 945–1045. The third book is dedicated to the reign of Adam's contemporary, the archbishop Adalbert (see above). Adalbert was an important player in the imperial politics under Henry IV, but his aims to restore the might of his church failed. In a clearly apologetic manner, Adam discusses in detail the German and Scandinavian secular and ecclesiastical politics of that time.

The fourth and best-known book of the chronicle contains a geographical and ethnographical portrayal of the Nordic and Baltic Sea region, which is titled as 'Description of the Islands of the North' (*Descriptio insularum aquilonis*). As shall be examined in more detail below, Adam appears to have appropriated the Frankish concept of the 'North' (*aquilo*), which encompassed not only Scandinavia, but the whole of Nordic and Eastern Europe that had remained outside of the Latin Christendom, including the Slavic, as well as the Eastern Baltic territories (Fraesdorff 2002, 2005).

Adam's chronicle is often considered among the monumental works of medieval historiography and thus it has been researched widely.[85] Many scholars have focused on Adam's institutional loyalty as the most important factor that shaped his work.[86] They stress that even though the chronicle provides a wide overview of the Christian expansion into the Eastern and Nordic Europe, its author looks at these processes from the perspective of his own church and clearly favours the missionary activities coming from Hamburg-Bremen (e.g. Wood 2001: 16, cf. Knibbs 2011).

Scholars have linked the agenda of the chronicle closely with the failures of archbishop Adalbert. As Hans-Werner Goetz claims, by writing his work, Adam aimed to contribute towards halting the decline of the bishopric and to recall its efforts to become the archbishopric for the whole North (2006: 30–40). This strongly apologetic attitude means that Adam's narrative has to be interpreted carefully, but it also makes his work a fine example of the political involvement of medieval historiography.

Adam was among the first to provide a detailed account of the largely unknown Nordic and Baltic region, and his vivid representations, especially in the *Descriptio* have caught much interest. While previously these have

[85] An overview of the scholarly works on Adam is provided in Scior 2002: 30–37. Manuscript studies are presented in Schmeidler 1918.

[86] Goetz 2006: 29–40, Scior 2002: 28–88.The institutional and political background of Adam's chronicle is discussed also in Buchner 1963, Theuerkampf 1988, and Goetz 1993.

been widely appropriated for reconstructions of the Nordic paganism – a topic that was particularly popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries nationalist constructions of history – today scholars rather aim at deconstructing these images.[87] A large proportion of this research, which critically examines how Adam constructs 'paganism', has been focusing on elements that he has borrowed from the classical, biblical and Carolingian texts, showing that his imagery of 'otherness' is a mixture of various textual layers. (Fraesdorff 2002: 317–319.) This issue is also addressed in Article One (Kaljundi 2008). Next to this, scholars have also pointed to the ways Adam has used the image of the barbarian and pagan North to promote the authority of the archdiocese of Hamburg Bremen as a missionary centre.[88]

Adam ended his chronicle with the year 1070. A century later, the history writing of the Hamburg-Bremen archdiocese was continued when **Helmold of Bosau** authored 'The Chronicle of the Slavs' (*Chronica Slavorum*). Helmold was a priest in the parish of Bosau, located in the borderlands of the bishopric of Oldenburg.[89] At the frontier, he also wrote his chronicle, produced in around 1167–1168 and 1172.

Helmold explicitly states that his aim is to continue Adam's task in recording the history of the Saxon mission at the Nordic and Slavic frontier. The first part of the chronicle (HCS 1–24) strongly draws on the work of his predecessor, covering the period from the Saxon wars until the death of archbishop Adalbert, which had been the ending point of Adam's chronicle. Thereafter Helmold centres on the conquest and conversion of the borderlands, which were inhabited by the Slavs.[90] As in the late twelfth century the submission of the Christian expansion met success, Helmold's narrative is ultimately victorious, ending with the subjugation of the Slavs and the founding of the Christian colonies in their lands.

In comparison to Adam, the geographical scope of the chronicle is narrower, as it does not discuss Scandinavian matters[91], but is mostly limited to the Slavic borderlands (cf. Goetz 1999: 393). As signifiers of ethnic groups and territories, the Slavs and Slavia are problematic terms, and also Helmold uses them somewhat inconsistently. The chronicle, on the one hand, presents Slavia and Slavs as a unity. As shown by David Fraesdorff, Helmold's depiction of the key features of this idolatrous territory and its inhabitants

[87] Scior 2002: 29–137, Jørgensen 2009.

[88] As a good example of this approach, Henrik Janson (1998) has contested one of Adam's most famous representations, which concerns the pagan temple in Uppsala. Showing that a number of other sources suggest that the Swedish society was more or less Christian at the time, Janson argues that the description of the golden temple is linked to the conflict between the German emperors (whom Adam backed) and Pope Gregory VII (whose supporters included the Swedish church).

[89] Helmold was born c. 1118–1125, and died some time after 1177. His biography is presented in Stoob 1963, Scior 2008b.

[90] Including the Lower Elbe areas, Eastern Holstein, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania.

[91] With the exception of Denmark, which was involved in the subjugation of the Slavs in the 1160s–1170s.

was shaped by Adam's representation of the pagan and uncivilised North, and thereby the region's imagery bears resemblance to the earlier descriptions of Scandinavia (2002: 319–321). On the other hand, Helmold also offers various sub-categorisations of the Slavic tribes, which the archaeologists have nevertheless contested, claiming that they are literary constructions at least to some extent (Brather 2004).

As a whole, Helmold provides a good example of frontier historiography, as also discussed in Article Two (Kaljundi 2009). His perspective is not only narrower, but also closer. The centre of the chronicler's mental universe is located at the frontier close to the Slavs.[92] The main protagonists of this history are the missionaries who live at the border areas and, as Helmold puts it, 'preach the word of God among the Slavic folk and in his name to extirpate idolatry'.[93] The only exceptions to this pattern are the great secular promoter of conquest and mission, Henry the Lion[94], and Vicelin, the bishop of Oldenburg (r. 1149–1156) whose image is yet very closely bound to his previous activities as a frontier missionary.

At the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, another chronicle was produced about this region by **Arnold** (d. 1211/1212), an abbot of the Benedictine convent of St. John in Lübeck. Written c. 1210, Arnold's work is today known under the misleading title 'Chronicle of the Slavs' (*Chronica Slavorum*), which was given to it in the nineteenth century, when this text was treated as a continuation of Helmold's chronicle.[95] The positioning of this heterogeneous piece of writing is, however, more difficult, even if Arnold indeed recalls Helmold's chronicle in this beginning of his own work.

Arnold begins his narrative with the year 1171 – where Helmold's chronicle had stopped – and ends with 1210. This, however, is not a missionary history. At the time Arnold was writing his chronicle, the Germans, along with the Danes, had already gained success in the subjugation of the Slavs and securing their domination over the territory. As an indication of this, Arnold's representation of the Slavs already shows certain signs of domestication, although he occasionally also uses the image of the Slavs as the pagan and threatening 'other'.[96]

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[92] Although Helmold also identifies with Saxony, calling it 'our land and our people' (e.g. HCS 19, 86, 92) and speaks of the Saxons as 'us' (HCS 93). In the chronicle, admittedly, there also is present the idea of 'us' as the 'Germans' (*Teutonici*) (e.g. HCS 98), and of the German empire as the 'fatherland' (*patria*) (e.g. HCS 101), yet this seems to derive from the imperial tradition that stretches back to the Ottonian times (as, for example, Otto I also speaks of the Germans as 'his people' [HCS 9]).

[93] As Helmold puts it in his description of the start of Vicelin's mission (HCS 46).

[94] In the chronicle, Henry, the Duke of Saxony, is also emphatically called 'our duke' (e.g. HCS 89, 89).

[95] For well-founded criticism against labelling Arnold's work as 'Chronicle of the Slavs', see Freund 2008: 2–3.

[96] Volker Scior has analysed the images of 'us' and 'them' in Arnold's Chronicle (2002: 231–331). For an elaboration of Scior's ideas, and a detailed analysis of his uses of the ethnonym 'Slavs', see Lübke 2008.

Contrary to the previous chronicles, Arnold does not focus on the mission. On the one hand, this chronicle provides a regional history of the Baltic Sea area, the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, and the diocese of Lübeck. On the other hand, a large proportion of the text discusses the German politics both home and abroad in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, also touching upon the rivalry between the Welf and Staufer dynasty. However, one of the chief protagonists of the chronicle, Henry the Lion provides important connections between the imperial and the local realms, as well as between the present and the earlier missionary history.

The geographical scope of the chronicle also reaches beyond Germany, including the accounts of the Holy Land crusades, and the descriptions of Levant and Egypt.[97] One of its chapters is dedicated to the early mission and the first crusade to Livonia, covering the events until the year 1198.[98] In comparison to Arnold's much longer representations of the Holy Land crusades, the description of the Livonian enterprise is rather short (cf. Scior 2002: 253). Still, it is historiographically significant, as it is the only contemporary longer narrative account about the Livonian mission and crusades, next to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (discussed below). The Introduction also primarily touches upon Arnold's representation of Livonia, as the repertoire of the rest of his work extends beyond the immediate interests of this study. The overall heterogeneity of Arnold's work is, nevertheless, relevant for pinpointing the transformations of regional historiography.

Looking at the historical scholarship from the nineteenth century onwards, Arnold's Chronicle has not been valued too highly, if compared to Adam and Helmold. Several reasons appear to be behind this, mostly related to the mixed content and form of this work.[99] In terms of content, Arnold's work is not purely an ecclesiastical or missionary history, but it covers a range of topics. Next to this, the chronicle combines various genres, as well as adapts various other texts, such as crusade letters. Also Arnold's *causa scribendi* and agency are difficult to position, as he seems to have many loyalties and appears to promote many interests at the same time, supporting his church, his convent, as well as Henry the Lion (Scior 2008a: 153–163).

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[97] Arnold's chronicle includes accounts of the Third Crusade (1189–92) (including the crusade of Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1152–1190) (ACS IV)) and the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), as well as descriptions the foreign, exotic lands: Byzantine (ACS III.8), Apulia (ACS V.19), Egypt and Syria (ACS VII.8).

[98] ACS V.30, pp. 212–217. Arnold's inclusion of the chapter about Livonia has been explained with the dedication of this chronicle to the dome chapel and bishop of Ratzeburg, who also participated in the Livonian crusades (Scior 2002: 253). Somewhat differently, others have claimed that the bishop's participation in the Livonian crusades is the reason why the work is dedicated to him (Kolk 2004: 77–80).

[99] As pointed out by Freund 2008: 2–4, Panzer 2008: 46–47. The lack of a proper edition and the complexities of the manuscript transmission have also made working with this text more difficult, as well summarised by Freund 2008. For the manuscripts of Arnold's chronicle, see Walther 2008.

From the late 1980s and 1990s onwards, this heterogeneous work has gained new scholarly interest.[100] The most significant debates around this text concern the question how to define regional and imperial historiography. Some researchers argue that the chronicle should be treated in the imperial context as a kind of an *historia regum* (Hucker 1988), while others say it should be placed in a more regional context as a manifestation of the local identity characteristic to the recently Christianized lands north of the Elbe.[101]

The last author examined here is **Henry of Livonia**. His work gains most attention throughout the studies included into this thesis and also provides a connection that binds all the articles together. Thus this text is also introduced in more length and detail.

Henry's chronicle presents a detailed contemporary source about the crusades and mission to Livonia, covering the period from the 1180s until the year 1227.[102] It also is the only preserved contemporary narrative history about the Livonian crusade, save the aforementioned account by Arnold of Lübeck.[103] Presenting the founding narrative about Christian Livonia, in the nineteenth century, Henry's chronicle became a key historical source for both the Baltic-Germans, as well as the Estonian and Latvian nationalists. Due to this, there is an extensive Baltic scholarly tradition about this work. As a good indication of the chronicle's importance for rivalling communities, there has been a long-standing interest in the persona of its author, notwithstanding the fact that there is very little that we know about the chronicler and the background of his work.[104]

Even though the author of this chronicle cannot be established with certainty, it seems plausible to argue that it was written by a certain Henry, a parish priest and missionary who is mentioned several times in the text.[105] Despite the longstanding opinion that he was of Latvian origin[106], since the

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[100] For an overview of bibliographies concerning Arnold's chronicle, see Freund 2008. For a recent attempt to find new perspectives for approaching this work, see Freund, Schütte 2008.

[101] An argument that is made in Walther 1997; cf. Scior 2002: 254–280; Scior 2008a: 151–153, 167–168; Lappenberg 1869: 102–103; Panzer 2008: 52–60.

[102] As it appears, the majority of the chronicle's text was produced in around 1224–1226. In 1227–1228 one, final chapter (HCL XXX, pp. 215–222) was added.

[103] Shorter contemporary notes about the Livonian crusades are listed in Arbusow 1938.

[104] Among the scholarly works, one should first mention Paul Johansen's reading of the chronicle as a kind of an autobiography of Henry (1953). Biographical sketches of the author are provided in Bauer 1955 and Brundage 2011. The latter, however, also poignantly remarks that 'virtually everything we know (or think we know) about Henry of Livonia comes from his chronicle' (Brundage 2011: 1)

[105] Called *Henricus*, or *Heinricus*. HCL XI.7, p. 55; XII.6, p. 62; XVI.3, p. 107; XVII.6, p. 114; XXIV.1–2, pp. 169–171.

[106] The basis for considering him to have been of a Latvian relies on a passage where the chronicler names himself *Henricus de Lettis* (HCL XVI.3, p. 107). In the Latvian cultural memory, the idea of Henry's local origin was preserved well into the twentieth century. Article Six (Kaljundi, Kļaviņš 2011: 445–448).

post-war period this claim has been neglected and it is widely held that the chronicler originated from Saxony.[107]

Based on his text, it has been argued that Henry arrived to Riga in around 1205.[108] In 1207, a priest called Henry was assigned a parish in Jumara (Est. Ümera).[109] As the parish was located at the border area between the Lettgallians and Estonians, this Henry was well informed about the crusade expeditions going to Estonia, as well as the raids that the Estonians made to Lettgallian and Livonian lands.[110] Judging from the chronicle, the same priest also took part in many missionary and crusade campaigns to Estonia.[111]

The priest called Henry also took part in the negotiations between different parties, providing the services of an interpreter, much demanded in missionary regions.[112] Henry mediated the talks between the leaders of the German mission and the natives, likely translated the sermons of his fellow missionaries, and seems to have been often used for important assignments.[113] After the events covered in the chronicle, Henry likely

[107] Although there is no direct evidence of the chronicler's origins, it has been supposed that Henry was born in the 1180s near Magdeburg, perhaps in Poppendorf, as in the chronicle Henry's parish is called Papendorf (Latv. Rubene). See Arbusow 1950: 100; Johansen 1953: 9; Bauer 1955: vi–ix. Most scholars tend to agree with Paul Johansen's (1953: 8) suggestion that Henry descends from among the *ministeriales*, as did most of the leaders of the Livonian mission. See Gnegel-Waitschies 1958: 28; Hucker 1989a: 37; Bourgeois 2005: 554.

[108] Arguably Henry arrived to Riga with bishop Albert of Riga as 'his scholar', likely spending the following three years in Albert's household. HCL XI.7, p. 55; Brundage, p. 75; cf. Johansen 1953: 13–14; Brundage 2011: 5. In addition, he had the opportunity to study theology with Anders Sunesen, who spent the winter of 1206 in Riga. HCL X.13, p. 43; cf. Nielsen 2001: 107.

[109] 'The bishop, too, rejoiced and, since he desired always to provide for the church, sent back to that place (Ymera) with Alabrand his scholar, Henry, now promoted to holy orders. When they had finished baptizing in those regions, Alabrand returned. Henry, however, when he had constructed a church and received it as a benefice, lived there with them and, although exposed to many dangers, did not cease to point out to them the blessed future life.' (HCL XI.7, p. 55; Brundage, p. 75.)

[110] Once the Estonians arguably even burned down Henry's church and parsonage (HCL XIV.12, p. 86). Another vivid representation of the Estonians' raid to Jumara (1223) is given in HCL XXVII.1, p. 193.

[111] That the chronicler was well acquainted with the campaigns has been pointed out by a number of scholars. Laakmann 1933: 61, 71; Johansen 1953: 15–16; Brundage 2011: 6. Good examples of this are provided in HCL XVII.3; XX.2, 6; XXI.2–5; XXII.2, 9; XXIII.7–9. The priest Henry could also have participated in the expeditions described in HCL XII.6, XIV.11, and XVII.5.

[112] As pointed out in Bartlett 1993: 198–204, Urban 1998: 205–206, Brundage 2011: 7. The attention towards Henry's role as an interpreter also reflects the growing interest towards cultural encounters, as remarked in Murray 2011.

[113] Johansen 1953: 10; cf. XVII.3, p. 116; XXIII.7, p. 162. According to the chronicle, Henry served as the interpreter for bishop Albert and bishop Philip of Ratzeburg (r. 1204–1215), as well as for the papal legate, William Modena. See HCL XVI.3, p. 107; XIX.5–6, pp. 127–131; XXIX.2–8, pp. 208–214. The chronicle also seems to bear witness to the spread of its author's horizon, as claimed in Brundage 2011: 7–8. During his early years as a parish priest Henry seems to have known less about the events taking place outside his neighbourhood. Concerning the later years, he seems quite well informed, likely also due to his service as an interpreter. Henry could also have travelled abroad for promoting the interest of the Church of Riga. It has been suggested that he took part in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and in bishop Albert's trip to Germany in 1222–1224, as the descriptions of these journeys are very lively. Cf. Laakmann 1933: 70–77.

remained a parish priest and seems to have lived until old age.[114] The question why a person who was so prominently involved in the Christianisation of Livonia did not reach any higher position has remained unresolved.

Today, Henry's chronicle has become one of the most widely studied chronicles of the frontier crusades.[115] A number of reasons appear to be behind this, such as the close-up perspective on war and mission, or his adaptations of the contemporary crusade ideology. Next to this, also the advantages of the long tradition of close textual research should not be underestimated.[116] Compared with much of medieval historiography, Henry's use of biblical and liturgical language is exceptionally well studied.[117]

The new wave of studies about Henry's chronicle can very roughly be divided into two strands, one of which focuses on the political agendas of this text, and the other departs from the interest towards cultural representations and practices. While the latter, more strongly culturally oriented tendency will be addressed in the respective subchapter below, here we will focus on the discussions concerning the political involvement of the chronicle.

Traditionally, scholars have valued Henry highly as an eyewitness of many events described in his text.[118] Indeed, it seems that Henry is not merely citing a patristic *topos* (cf. Arbusow 1950: 137), when he claims: 'Nothing has been put in this account except what we have seen almost entirely with our own eyes [cf. First John 1:1]. What we have not seen with our eyes, we have learned from those who saw it and who were there.'[119]

Personal involvement, yet, does not exclude bias. As put by Christopher Tyerman, Henry's chronicle 'is a work of didacticism and advocacy, a sermon and a manifesto, its seemingly autobiographical tone concealing some of its main purposes'.[120] Today, most scholars regard this text as an apologetic founding narrative. It is however not easy to determine for whom the chronicle is written. Remaining vague while introducing his *causa scribendi*, Henry claims that he wrote 'at the urging of his lords and companions'.[121] He

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[114] It is likely that he died some time after the year 1259, as in 1259 he is reported to have still as a very old man. Johansen 1953: 9, 15, cf. Brundage 2011: 5–6.

[115] For a comprehensive bibliography of Henry's chronicle see Tamm, Kaljundi, Jensen 2011a: 457–472.

[116] Next to the numerous editions, there are detailed studies of the manuscript transmission (Arbusow 1926, 1927). A critical analysis of the editing history of Henry's chronicle is given in Kala 2011.

[117] In addition to a catalogue and a study concerning the biblical and liturgical quotations in this chronicle (Bilkins 1928 and Arbusow 1950 respectively), there also exists exceptionally minute research about Henry's use of liturgical language (Arbusow 1951).

[118] As said, Paul Johansen even suggests reading this chronicle as an autobiography (1953). Johansen likewise emphasised Henry's easy access to various eyewitnesses stretching from the Christian newcomers (clerics, crusaders, or townspeople) to the newly converted natives. Also Leonid Arbusow (1950: 100, cf. 1951) stresses the impact of personal experiences to Henry's chronicle.

[119] HCL XXIX.9, p. 215; Brundage p. 237–38; cf. First John 1:1.

[120] Tyerman 2011: 23. Or, as Tyerman has argued earlier, Henry represents the viewpoint of 'a committed participant' whose concerns were local, enthusiasm unalloyed, and perspective partial (1998: 33–34).

[121] HCL XXIX.9, p. 215; Brundage, p. 237.

also presents missionary historiography as praise for the Lord[122] and, even more interestingly, as penitential deed. Saying that the chronicle is written for the remission of sins, Henry makes history writing a kind of invariant of crusading.[123] Yet, likely the reasons behind producing the chronicle were more concrete. Some scholars have claimed that the order came from bishop Albert.[124] A number of others hold that it was primarily written for the papal legate William of Modena.[125]

Notwithstanding the concrete agenda, it still comes clear from reading the chronicle that it is designed to defend the young Church of Riga and to fund its legal and divine primacy in Livonia. Anti Selart who regards Henry's chronicle as 'an extremely polemical and apologetic work', has even interpreted it as a kind of legal text designed to support the legal pretensions of an institution (2008: 199).

A number of scholars have also analysed Henry's representations of the rivalling parties.[126] As already mentioned, the chronicler marginalizes the Danish initiatives to Christianize Livonia, which predated the German efforts and had considerable papal support. Even though no Danish narratives about the crusades have been preserved, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, as said, the Danish king and the church were strong contenders for these lands.[127]

No less problematic is Henry's ambiguous representation of the position of the Russian princes in the territories of the Lettagallians and Livs.[128] While in the beginning of the narrative the Russians are represented in fairly favourable terms[129], then after the conflict over hegemony grew more serious,

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[122] 'Many and glorious things happened in Livonia at the time when the heathen were converted to the faith of Jesus Christ [cf. John 20:30, Romans 15:15], which cannot all be written down or recalled to the memory, lest it be wearisome to the readers. But these few little things have been written in praise of our Lord Jesus Christ [cf. John 20:30–31], Who wishes His faith and His name to be carried to all nations [cf. Acts 9: 15].' (HCL XXIX.9, p. 215; Brundage, p. 237.)

[123] 'We have not written this for praise or for the reward of temporal advantage. Rather, we wrote for the remission of our faults and in praise of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of the Lord, Who with the Father and the Holy Spirit, always was, is now, and shall be blessed [cf. Romans 1:25], world without end. Amen.' (HCL XXIX.9, p. 215; Brundage, p. 238.)

[124] See Brundage 2011: 7, Tyerman 2011: 23, Bauer 1955: xviii–xx, Johansen 1953: 3, Laakmann 1933: 74.

[125] Brundage 2011: 7. More precisely, this concerns the first and major part of the chronicle, its first 29 chapters, which cover the events up to the year 1224. Thereafter, the author has added one more chapter (XXX) that accounts the events until 1227 and was finished after William had left Livonia. See also Johansen 1953: 3, Bauer 1955: xviii–xx. Some scholars have yet contested this argument, e.g. Arbusow 1926: 286. Christopher Tyerman has claimed that even if the chronicle was begun as a kind of a report for the legate, there are inconsistencies between Henry's text and the papal policy, especially in the final version of the chronicle, which was completed after William's departure (2011: 23–24).

[126] The political background of the chronicle is made even more complex by the struggles between the German parties, the bishop of Riga and the military order of the Sword Brethren, discussed above.

[127] Selart 2008: 198, 201–205. Cf. Mäesalu 2013.

[128] Henry's negative image of the Russians is discussed in Schmidt 1995; Selart 2001, 2015; Nielsen 2009; Assmann 2012.

[129] In 1209, Henry still identifies the Russians as fellow-Christians (XIII.4, p. 70; favourable images of the Russians are also presented in HCL I.3, p. 2 and X.1, p. 32–33). Cf. Schmidt 1995: 519.

Henry starts to refer to the Russians as the enemies of Christianity[130], as well as contests their lordship on a religious basis, arguing that the Russians do not care for baptising the natives.[131]

The chroniclers discussed in this study, Adam, Helmold, Arnold, and Henry have been analysed jointly also before, although the comparisons have usually not included all the four authors.[132] Comparing their works lends it easily available, considering that they represent different phases of the same process, the enlargement of Christendom in the Baltic Sea region. Those works also belong to the historiographical tradition stemming from the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, even if their liaisons to their archiepiscopal see differed, being most problematic in the case of Henry of Livonia. All this raises questions concerning the coherence of this historiographical tradition. In the current study, we are especially interested in the question whether there appear to emerge any regional strategies for conceptualising and legitimising conquest and conversion, which could have developed in tandem with the progress of Latin Christianity in this area.

With the exception of Arnold of Lübeck, whose work is far from being solely an ecclesiastical history, the chronicles are very similar in form and content, presenting the narratives of the churches that are young, or whose primacy is contested. This is not a unique feature, as institutional commitment shaped much of medieval history writing (Goetz 1999: 336–339). The majority of medieval historians were primarily concerned with the interests of their institution (e.g. a church, or a dynasty), with the legitimisation of its power, and its legal pretensions (Spiegel 1997: 83–98).

Concerning the socio-cultural background of our chroniclers, it is worth noting that the impact of politics on medieval historiography has been often stressed namely in connection to the Ottonian realm and particularly Saxony, explaining this with the tensions arising from the royal demands on clerical resources and the involvement of churchmen in politics.[133] Recently, the political involvement of historiography has also been emphasised in connection to the Baltic and Nordic realm at large, stressing that in this area the clerical institutions – who lead and initiated the production of history –

[130] For example, in HCL XXVII.5–6, pp. 198–99 and XXVIII.4–5, pp. 202–203.

[131] In HCL XVI.2, p. 103; XVI.5, p. 111; XX.5, p. 137; and XXIV.4, p. 173.

[132] Most extensive is the comparative analysis of the imageries of 'us' and 'them' in the chronicles of Adam, Helmold and Arnold by Volker Scior (2002). David Fraesdorff has compared Adam's and Helmold's imagery of the barbarian and pagan North (2005). Leonid Arbusow (1951) has compared the use of liturgical language in the chronicles of Helmold and Henry. Partly relying on these extensive studies, Wojtek Jeziersky [forthcoming] has compared the perception of mission and missionary communities in the works of Adam, Helmold, and Henry. The author of the current thesis has previously compared the imageries of 'other' peoples and spaces in the chronicles of all the above-mentioned authors, Adam, Helmold, Arnold, and Henry (Article One [Kaljundi 2008]).

[133] The ways in which the Ottonian concerns for the manifestations of power have influenced historiography are discussed in Althoff, Schubert 1998; this work also providing comparisons with visual culture. The impact that the simultaneous co-operation and rivalry of secular and clerical leaders had on Saxon historiography is analysed in Reuter 1995; Warner 2000: 15–16, 2001: 259.

were the key players in the Christianisation process (e.g. Geary 2006: 326, Selart 2008: 199).

The institutional position of our authors, however, varies significantly. Adam belonged to the well-educated ecclesiastical elite and wrote his text from the perspective of the centre of the archiepiscopal power, but he did not have first-hand experience of mission. In contrast, Helmold and Henry represent the viewpoint of lower-ranking frontier clerics who were actively involved in mission.[134] Thus their background, position, and experience horizon are remarkably similar.[135] Arnold's viewpoint, in contrast, is not that easy to define, as his chronicle represents multiple institutional loyalties – an attitude that seems to echo the situation of the frontier town of Lübeck.

In addition, comparing Adam with Helmold and Henry reveals a certain democratization of history writing. This seems to reflect some broader tendencies that also relate to the crusade historiography. While in the earlier periods medieval historians mostly originated from among the clerical elite, from the First Crusade onwards the crusade chroniclers also included lower-ranking clerics. Even though the most prestigious histories of the First Crusade were still written by learned men who represented the event to the clerical public in sophisticated terms, several eyewitness account were produced by less educated authors, whose work was characterized by rougher manner and departures from grammar.[136] Partly this can be explained with the unprecedentedly vast amount of text that was produced about the crusades[137], but the broadening of the social background of chroniclers no doubt had a major effect on medieval historiography as a whole.

Notwithstanding the differences in their status, with the exception of Arnold, all the chroniclers discussed in this study however faced a situation where they had to provide authoritative descriptions of newly conquered and converted lands and, at the same time, did not have many descriptions of these territories and peoples at their disposal. Coming back to the question of regional tradition, raised above, we would like to examine, to which extent did they rely on external authorities, and to which extent did they borrow from each other certain schemata and motifs, or refer to each others work.

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[134] Thereby Henry's chronicle has been even viewed as a kind of 'an advocate's brief' on behalf of the frontier clergy (Tyerman 2011: 23, cf. Brundage 2011: 6).

[135] Concerning Henry, Christopher Tyerman has said that 'he was influenced by his own experience and the circumstances of his frontier career' (2011: 43; cf. *Ibid.*: 23, Brundage 2011: 11). This remark characterises Helmold equally well. Helmold and Henry have also been compared with other frontier chroniclers. For example, Henry's chronicle has been compared to the *Expugnatio Hiberniae* by Gerald of Wales (c. 1146–1223), arguing that both authors share a similar concern with the legitimacy of conquest and ecclesiastical authority, as well as resemble each other in their brutal descriptions of the subjugation of native peoples (Bartlett 1993: 97–98; Tyerman 2011: 43).

[136] Emblematic to this tradition is *Gesta Francorum*, but it also includes the chronicles of Peter Tudebode, Raymond of Aguilers, and Fulcher of Chartres. The more refined histories about the First crusade were written by authors such as Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent, and Baldric Bourgueil, who represented the monastic scholarship. (Riley-Smith 2003: 135–152.)

[137] As Jonathan Riley-Smith remarks, 'no other event in the central Middle Ages inspired anything like the quantity of writing to be encountered in connection to the crusades' (2003: 135).

The chronicles by Adam, Helmold and Arnold bear witness to close connections and cross-references. While Adam had at his disposal only a small amount of hagiographical and other records (as shall be discussed in the next subchapter), Helmold could refer to Adam's authority, and he indeed quotes his predecessor vastly. A good example of Adam's influence relates to the image of the pagan North. This image originates from the Carolingian times and is developed further by Adam. From his work, it is transferred into Helmold's chronicle, where it is widely used for representing the Nordic and especially the Slavic region, despite the changes that these territories had experienced during the hundred years that had passed meanwhile. (Fraesdorff 2002: 323–324, 330.) This makes his imagery of the pagan North one of the finest examples of continuity in this regional historiography.

Writing around thirty years later than Helmold and residing in Lübeck, Arnold, as said, presents a different kind of a narrative, which is not primarily an ecclesiastical or a missionary history. As the two works are considerably different, it would be misleading to interpret Arnold's chronicle as a continuation of Helmold's narrative, or the volume two of the Chronicle of the Slavs, as it has been done previously (as told above). Nevertheless, the fact that Arnold positioned his chronicle as a continuation of Helmold's work suggests the importance of the local historiography, which tells about the turning of a pagan land into the *status terrae nostrae*, as Arnold puts it (Walther 2008: 22, Panzer 2008: 52–60, Scior 2008a: 171–172). Volker Scior has also pointed to the symbolic and even political value of this missionary history, suggesting that Arnold highlights the connection to Helmold and the earlier missionary history because it enables him to promote the local identity, as well as to support Henry the Lion who had been one of the leaders of the subjugation of the Slavs (2002: 288).

Offering the first narrative about Livonia and integrating these territories into the Christian discourse for the first time, Henry also faces a serious need for textual authorities. Nevertheless, besides the sacred texts, he does not refer to any other written works and this seems to have been a deliberate choice. The number of documents circulating in Livonia at that time was very small (Arbusow 1938, Kala 2009b), but it was not non-existent and it is likely that Henry also used various types of documents.[138] Yet, he makes no mention of these.

Moreover, Henry also breaks completely with the Hamburg-Bremen missionary tradition. He does not quote or mention the earlier chroniclers,

[138] It has been suggested that Henry was familiar with important charters, sometimes also using them (Arbusow 1950: 141–45, Bauer 1955: xxvi-vii; cf. HCL IV.6, XI.3–4, XV.4–5, XVI.4, XXIV.2–3). In addition, Anders Sunesen of Lund had likely composed an account of the Livonian events and a copy of this text could have been available in Riga (Kolk 2004: 51–57, cf. Nielsen 2001: 109). Yet, it also is evident that Henry does not aim at including all the textual tradition that had emerged from Livonia. Traces of a parallel tradition, also originating from Livonia, are found, for example, in the works of Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. c. 1240). Selart 2008: 198.

and completely ignores the previous missionary history in the Baltic Sea region. As poignantly stressed by Jaan Undusk, Henry's history of Livonia starts from the very beginning, i.e. from the Old Testament histories about the pagans of Egypt and Babylon (2011: 67–68). This attitude is well reflected in the opening line of the chronicle, which says that 'Divine Providence, by the fire of His love, and mindful of Raab [i.e. Egypt] and Babylonia, that is, of the confusion of paganism, aroused in our modern times the idolatrous Livs from the sleep of idolatry and of sin in the following way.'[139]

At the same time, it is entirely unlikely that Henry was unaware of the earlier missionary history, or its significance. As said above, Henry, just like most of the clergy and crusaders who had come to Livonia descended from among the Northern German *ministeriales*. Despite the lack of any direct evidence, moreover, it has been suggested that Henry was educated at the Augustinian convent in Segeberg, where Helmold had likewise studied (c. 1134–1138). In his chronicle, Helmold represents Segeberg as one of the key centres of the Christian mission among the neighbouring Slavs.[140] Also during the Livonian campaigns, Segeberg was the best place of study for a missionary heading towards the Eastern Baltic and many Livonian clerics were indeed educated there.[141] Focusing on the practical preparation of missionaries and providing them with the basic tools they would need as clerics, the school was no leading intellectual centre. But if Henry indeed studied at Segeberg that was once founded as a Christian bridgehead on the Slavic frontier, this would have provided him with a fine connection to the earlier missionary history of the region (Brundage 2011: 2–4).

These close connections raise the question why Henry did not use the legacy of previous missionary history, although it could have provided him an important resource of authority. One likely explanation for this relates to the author's commitment to promote the interests of his institution, as the Church of Riga strove for becoming an archbishopric that would have been independent from Hamburg-Bremen. Another important factor could have

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[139] HCL I.1, pp. 1–2; Brundage p. 25; cf. Psalms 86:4, and the Roman breviary.

[140] Segeberg was founded in 1134 by Vicelin, the propagator of the Slavic mission, the future bishop of Oldenburg, and one of the main heroes of Helmold's chronicle (see above). In his chronicle, Helmold also stresses the contribution of the convent's members in the mission (HCS 53). In 1138, the convent was destroyed during a Slavic revolt. Thereafter, the church, the convent and the school were reopened in Segeberg c. 1156–1157 (also described in HCS 55, p. 204; 84, p. 294). Helmold's liaisons to Segeberg are discussed in Stoob 1963: 2–4.

[141] Including Meinhard (Hellmann 1989b: 19–34, Munzinger 2006: 165–172) and several others mentioned by Henry. Thus, some of his fellow students could have ended up as his co-missionaries. Henry also refers to many native, i.e. Livic, Lettgallian, and Estonian boys who were likely schooled at Segeberg and then returned to their homeland as missionaries. See HCL I.2–4, VI .3, IX.6, and X.7; cf. Johansen 1953: 10–11, Brundage 2011: 2, footnote 9. If Henry was indeed schooled at Segeberg, this also means that he could have been taught by Rothmar, the brother of bishop Albert of Riga and a priest at Segeberg. In addition, one of Albert's cousins, Theodoric had been an abbot of Segeberg prior to 1186. Johansen 1953: 11–13; Gnegel-Waitsches 1958: 28, 33; Hucker 1989a: 37; Bourgeois 2005: 554; Brundage 2011: 2, 4.

been the crusades, which are a more attractive point of reference for Henry. Instead of pointing to the previous mission among the Slavs, he prefers to link the Livonian events to the contemporary crusade campaigns that took place in the Holy Land, the Iberian Peninsula, and Egypt.

In fact, out of all contemporary events taking place outside Livonia, Henry favours those linked to the crusade movement. For example, while narrating the Livonian events from the year 1220, Henry recalls the conquest of Damietta (1219) during the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221): 'At that same time, indeed, the Christians from the land of Jerusalem had taken Damietta, a city of Egypt. They lived in it and the church of God had victory and triumphs over the pagans everywhere throughout the world'.[142]

Hence, instead of linking the Livonian enterprise to the earlier regional tradition, Henry's prefers greater frames of reference, i.e. the biblical history and the crusades. In addition, his chronicle illustrates well that these two grand frameworks, the bible and the crusades, can be well combined, as the crusade discourse strongly relied on the biblical histories (cf. Undusk 2011: 51). Also in Henry's chronicle, Egypt features prominently as a biblical symbol of paganism. As shown above, Henry's narrative starts with recalling Egypt. It also ends with a reference to Egypt, the last lines of this text exclaiming: 'When this is finished, when it is done, when all the people are baptized, when Tharapita is thrown out, when Pharaoh is drowned [cf. Exodus 14:23–29], when the captives are freed, return with joy, O Rigans!'[143] This image from Exodus was widely used in crusade texts, occurring already in the learned monastic histories of the First Crusade. It was also circulating in contemporary crusade writings, as, for example, Pope Innocent III used this motif in his call for the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).[144]

Next to the references to the crusade campaigns and the use of metaphors typical to the crusade discourse, Henry's chronicle also reflects the growing impact of crusade terminology. The idea that all the crusade expeditions at the different theatres of war were ultimately part of the same fight is present already in Helmold's account of the Second Crusade.[145] Helmold, however, limits the term 'crusades' only to the papally proclaimed wars of the cross,

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[142] HCL XXIV.7, pp. 176–177; Brundage, pp. 195–96.

[143] HCL XXX.VI, p. 222; Brundage, pp. 245–246.

[144] Jonathan Riley-Smith has illustrated its uses during the First Crusade with an example taken from Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*. After the battle of Dorylaeum (1097), the crusaders are represented to sing a hymn, which was based on Moses' hymn of gratitude in Exodus after the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. Riley-Smith 2003: 140. The beginning of this passage in the translation by Carol Sweetenham is as follows: 'our soldiers … returned to their tents with their priest and clergy chanting the following hymn to God: 'Thou art glorious in Thy saints, O Lord, and wonderful in majesty; fearful in praises, doing wonders [cf. Exodus 15:11]. Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy [cf. Exodus 15:6], and in greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee [cf. Exodus 15:7].' Robert of Reims 2006, pp. 111–112. Innocent's uses of the Egyptian references borrowed from Exodus are pointed out in Tyerman 2011: 29.

[145] As he claims that 'the initatiors of the campaign deemed it advisable to design one part of the army for the eastern regions, another for Spain, and a third against the Slavs who live hard by us' (HSC 59).

and does not use it for other wars and conflicts between Christians and non-Christians. (Tyerman 2011: 25, 27.) Henry, yet, defines all warfare in Livonia as crusades.

Henry also steadily uses the terms 'pilgrimage' and 'pilgrims', which reinforce the status of the Livonian expeditions as crusades and link them to the Holy Land pilgrimages.[146] In the twelfth century, this term was not used in connection to the Baltic Sea area. Thus Helmold's description of the Second Crusade distinguished between the Iberian and Holy Land campaigns, which are called 'pilgrimages', and the Baltic enterprise, which is not.[147] In contrast, Arnold of Lübeck, who was writing his chronicle in the early thirteenth century, already used the term 'pilgrimage' for the first German crusade to Livonia (1198) (ACS V.30, p. 214), as well as connected this campaign to the 'Jerusalem pilgrimage', stressing the importance of papal approval.

Thus Henry's chronicle bears witness to the growing circulation of crusade concepts in frontier areas. Admittedly, his text – that is 'shot through with shards of crusade ideology' (Tyerman 2011: 27) – shows how diverse and lacking in legalistic precision the idea and practice of crusading were at that time (*Ibid.*). Still, it also illustrates well the growing impact of crusade terminology and vocabulary, which also owed to the better communications between the papal curia and the peripheries (Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2011). Therefore, despite all the heterogeneity, Henry's approach suggests that in the early thirteenth century the crusades became a much more significant resource of authority around the Baltic Sea.

In the following subchapters, looking at the representations and practices of mission and religious warfare, we also keep analysing the issue of coherence and continuity in the Baltic Sea historiography, including the question how much did the crusades bring in new impulses. Yet first, a positioning of this research at the backdrop of the current studies on the Christianisation of the Baltic and Nordic realm is needed.

New approaches to the Christianisation of the Baltic and Nordic realm: The expansion of expansion studies

Throughout the twentieth century, the study of the Christianisation of the Baltic and Nordic realm has gone through significant changes. Especially the approaches to the German colonisation of the Slavic and Eastern Baltic

[146] See Tyerman 2011: 31. For the first time, Henry calls the Livonian crusaders 'pilgrims' in connection to a discussion concerning the crusaders' privileges at the court of Philip of Swabia in 1199 (HCL III .2, p. 12).

[147] Henry's dependence on the Innocentian crusade terminology is discussed in Cosgrove 2010: 100–102.

regions, and the Baltic crusades have been influenced by the changing political situation (Bombi 2013: esp. 751). Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the enlargement of the European Union, the Christianisation of the Baltic and the Nordic realm has gained much and international scholarly attention (Ekdahl 2014). While this has also lead to simplified approaches to the medieval expansion as a kind of an invariant of 'Europeanisation'[148], the new research has resulted in significantly more entangled histories of the region.

Another reason behind the attention towards the medieval Baltic Sea realm concerns two broader trends that have been prominent in medieval studies: the interest towards the medieval expansion of Europe, and the pluralist definition of crusading. The key studies on the first topic, authored by Robert Bartlett (1993), Patrick Geary (2002), and Jacques Le Goff (2003), stressed the formative impact of the expansion period on the 'making' of Europe. This kind of research has also encouraged much new interest towards the medieval borderlands.[149]

Concerning the Baltic and Nordic realm, this has resulted in more transnational histories of the Christianisation of this region, whereas previously the conversion histories were mostly studied from the isolated perspectives of modern nation states.[150] The spread of comparative perspectives has also benefitted much from the tradition of frontier studies, which has further encouraged comparisons between the Baltic and Nordic region and other medieval borderlands, such as Iberia or the British Isles.[151]

Approaching the Baltic and Nordic regions as frontier societies has also resulted in the growing focus on cultural transfer and exchange. This has seriously challenged the traditional understanding, according to which the area experienced a clash of two radically different cultures, Christian and pagan.[152] In addition, acknowledging the cultural diversity characteristic to the frontier areas has also resulted in a reinvestigation of the relations between the centre and periphery, and abandoning the idea of the periphery as a passive recipient of the influences coming from the centre. Among others, Patrick J. Geary has warned against leaving 'little room for agency

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[148] The uses of this term are discussed in Staecker 2004b, 2009; Blomkvist 1998b.

[149] Bartlett, Mackay 1989; Abulafia, Berend 2002; Berend 2003, cf. Berend 2001.

[150] Significantly the new paradigm was introduced through collections of articles that brought together the scholars with various national backgrounds. Most influential volumes include the collections edited by Alan V. Murray (2001, 2009a, cf. 2014), as well as the publications of the project 'Culture Clash or Compromise: The importance of regional strategies to the Europeanization of the Baltic Rim ca 1100–1400 AD' (1996–2005), which was led by Nils Blomkvist at the Gotland University College (Blomkvist 1998a, 2009; Staecker 2004a, 2009). An overview of the latter project is given in Staecker 2009: 487–494.

[151] E.g. Armstrong, Wood 2000. An influential framework for analysing the Baltic Sea region as 'frontier society' was provided by William Urban (2001).

[152] The idea has also transmitted into the national histories, which have played a significant role in keeping it alive until today. The opposition of Christianity and paganism has been prominent also in the *Drang nach Osten* discourse; for the latter's uses of the Hamburg-Bremen chroniclers, see Scior 2002: 144–145.

from the periphery itself' and for treating it as merely 'an object of conquest and colonisation' (2006: 323).

Next to this, the study of the medieval Baltic Sea region has also gained new input from the transformation of the crusade studies. Traditionally, the crusades were associated with the expeditions to the Holy Land, lasting from the First Crusade (1096–1099) until the fall of Acre (1291). Other campaigns were regarded as deviations of the original idea. From the 1980s onwards, however, a more pluralist definition of the crusades has been established.[153] This includes the campaigns that were fought at the European frontiers, such as Iberia and the Baltic Sea region. It also incorporates the crusades against the heretics and the enemies of the papacy, as well as the late medieval crusade effort.

It would be wrong to assume that the new definitions have been entirely homogeneous, or that there has not been any criticism of the pluralist concept of the crusades.[154] Most significantly, there are various opinions considering how inclusive it should be: for example, should we consider as crusades only those campaigns that enjoyed papal approval?[155] It has also been argued stressed that the medieval crusade phenomenon was remarkably heterogeneous and gained more significant coherence only in the late twelfth century (Tyerman 1998). These issues are topical also for the religious warfare fought around Baltic Sea region.

Nevertheless, the pluralist approach has succeeded in creating a new and entangled field of study. For the Baltic Sea area, taking into account the crusade context has enabled to analyse the regional developments as part of larger processes.[156] On the other hand, the view of the crusades as part of a wider movement of Christian expansion – much in harmony with the contemporary papal ideas since Urban II (Riley-Smith 2003: 20, 108–109) – has also created a platform for a dialogue between the studies of the medieval expansion and the crusades. Concerning the Baltic Sea realm, this dialogue has provided fruitful perspectives. In the following brief overview, we will focus mostly on topics relevant to this study.

In the Baltic Sea region, the crusades lasted for about 300 years (1147–1525). The first scholars to offer new general histories about crusading in this area and to view at them within the context of the broader crusade movement were William Urban – who used the term 'Baltic crusades'[157] – and Eric Christiansen, who labelled them as the 'Nordic crusades' (1997 [first edition 1980]). While the following decades have not added many new

[153] This departed from the works of Jonathan Riley-Smith (1992, 2003 [first editions 1977, and 1986, respectively]) and others. A thorough bibliography is provided in Murray 2006.

[154] For example, criticism of the new definition was voiced by Ernst-Dieter Hehl (1994), and Jean Flori (2004).

[155] A good synthesis of these discussions is provided in Constable 2001.

[156] An overview about the new approaches to the Baltic and Nordic crusades is given in Ekdahl 2014. For a recent discussion on the debate on the Baltic crusades, see Bombi 2013.

[157] Urban's study on the Baltic crusades (1994) was first published in 1975. He also authored studies on the Prussian (1980), the Livonian (2004 [first edition 1981]), and the Samogitian crusade (1989).

general and synthesising works, they have produced a rich variety of research about more specific areas and topics, agents and institutions.[158] Comparative studies about the Baltic, and other frontier crusades have also emerged (e.g. Jensen, K.V. 2005). In sum, this has resulted in a considerable re-interpretation of the crusading enterprises in the Baltic Sea region as a whole.

Firstly, the new research has stressed the cultural and religious aspects of campaigning in the Baltic region. This has also been an important topic in the new crusade studies, as one of the key arguments used for the re-conceptualisation of the crusades concerned the importance of spiritual motivation.[159] Even though the emphasis on religious aspects sometimes tends to omit the violence and intolerance emblematic to the crusades[160], this approach has nevertheless drawn attention to the importance of cultural factors in power politics.

Significantly, the trend to consider other than economic or strategic aspects has also been present in the local scholarly tradition. In the nineteenth century and the interwar period, the study of the Eastern Baltic crusades had been focusing on the economic factors, such as the quest for trading routes. However, already from the 1950s and 1960s onwards historians have shifted their interest towards religious and cultural aspects.[161]

Similarly to the trends prevalent in the research about the Baltic and Nordic frontiers (discussed above), crusade scholars have also stressed the agency of the periphery, instead of treating it as a passive recipient of the central crusade initiatives and ideologies. This has been an important issue in the numerous studies concerning the relations between the Baltic peripheries and the papal curia. This research shows well that most often the

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[158] Especially much new research has been produced about Danish crusades, focusing on the involvement of the Danish monarchy and the church. The research on the Danish crusades well adapted the new approaches to crusades (see Jensen, K.V. 2001), but it was also well funded by the earlier research on the medieval religious and clerical history (Bisgaard; Jensen, C.S.; Lind 2001). Tellingly, one of the few new syntheses about the Baltic Sea region crusades concerns namely the Danish crusade effort (Lind et al. 2004]). There also exists a monograph on the later Danish crusades (Jensen, J.M. 2007).

[159] Thus a number of scholars, starting from Jonathan Riley-Smith have argued that the crusaders suffered heavy financial losses rather than gained economically from campaigning (2003: 128–129).

[160] Barbara Bombi (2013) brings as examples the volumes by Maccarrone (1989) and Hellmann (1989).

[161] As pointed out in Bombi 2013: 752. The volume *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, edited by Helmut Beumann (1963a), constituted a particularly influential attempt to abandon the limits of political history, to focus on the relations between the crusade and missionary ideology, and to offer alternative, social and religious explanations (cf. Beumann 1963b). In this volume, Beumann also tackled the impact of the crusade ideology on the German expansion eastwards (1963c). Admittedly, even earlier re-interpretations of the Livonian crusades in a similar light were offered by Albert Bauer (1956) and to a certain extent also Leonid Arbusow (1944). The second scholar who helped to bring about this paradigmatic shift, Manfred Hellmann (1954) stressed that the socio-economic factors behind the German colonisation of the Eastern Europe – Livonia and Prussia in particular – should be analysed together with the religious, clerical and missionary influences. In the Soviet and Marxist historiography, however, the economic explanations of the German expansion prevailed well into the 1980s. See Article Six (Kaljundi, Klavinš 2011: 440–442).

crusade initiative was local and that the peripheral crusades were not orchestrated by the papacy.[162]

The proactive role of the peripheries has also been discussed in relation to the legitimisation of the crusades fought outside the Holy Land, showing that the propagators of the frontier enterprises were considerably inventive. At a first glance, the justification of crusading around the Baltic Sea seems very difficult. The crusades were most often justified as wars of liberation of a holy place, or of the Christians. The Baltic Sea region was far from the Christian centres, which made it difficult to speak about the defence of the Christians, or of a specifically Christian place. It was also far away from Jerusalem, which made the crusade a pilgrimage. From among the authors discussed in this study, Helmold, Arnold, and Henry had to find other solutions for the conceptualisation of the crusades in the Baltic Sea area.

In addition, all these authors, including Adam, were facing the question how to justify forced conversion. Considering that the canon law forbade forced conversion until the mid thirteenth-century, justification of missionary warfare was a difficult task. It has not been a major in crusade studies in general, as the crusades to the Holy Land were mostly not regarded as missionary war.[163] Concerning the Baltic Sea region, yet, the close relations between the use of force and mission have raised much discussion. Much of this research has centred on the conversion of the Slavs, but there also are comparative studies concerning the use of force during the missionary wars fought around the Baltic Sea region.[164]

Often, Henry's chronicle has been used for studying the frontier chroniclers' strategies for justifying the missionary campaigns. Scholars have pointed to the way he bases his justification of the crusade campaigns on the apostasy of the local neophytes.[165] Article Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]) analyses Henry's legitimisation strategies from another angle, claiming that his arguments are also strongly related to the defence of the neophytes and their involvement in the crusades.

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[162] Iben Fonnesberg Schmidt has provided an extensive coverage of the relations between Rome and the Baltic Sea region in 1147–1254 (2007), as well as analyzed the interest of individual popes towards the conversion and conquest of these territories, including Alexander III (2005), Honorius III (2009), and Innocent III (2011). Barbara Bombi has examined the role of Innocent III (2005), Celestine III (2008a), as well as offered a detailed analysis of the papal relations to the conversion of the Northern Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (2007).

[163] Although there also circulated ideas about the conversion of the Muslims into Christianity, as shown by Kedar 1984. Still, there are not many examples of forcible mass conversion outside of Europe, while within Europe the crusades provoked very violent conversion of the Jews (Riley-Smith 2003: 54, 110–111).

[164] The collection Kamp and Kroker 2012 discusses these issues in a particularly broad chronological perspective, starting with the Carolongian wars against the Saxons, and ending in the late fourteenth century. Ščavinskas 2014 has compared the use of force during the conversion of the Wends and the native peoples of Livonia. The forced conversion of the Slavs in particular is addressed in Kahl 1963a, 1963b, 2011; and in Lotter 1977, 1980, 1989.

[165] E.g. Tyerman 2011, Tamm 2013.

Below, we also address other similarities and variances between the legitimising schemata used in the histories of the Baltic crusades and in the accounts of the earlier missionary warfare. This analysis has two focuses, as it firstly tackles the literary representations, and thereafter discusses how the chroniclers represent the rituals and other performative practices to contribute to the conceptualisation and justification of war and mission.

Christianisation of the Baltic Sea region – text and integration

Much of the new research on the Baltic and Nordic literary culture in the Middle Ages highlights the role of writing in the major political and social changes characteristic to the Christianisation period. In this field, scholars have been especially interested in the function of historiography, but also hagiography for the legitimisation of new religious, social and dynastic formations. This approach reflects some broader tendencies. Next to the spread of the literary turn into history, which has made attention to the literary form of historical representation a commonplace (White 1987), these also concern the critical treatment of historiography as a tool for hegemony. This has resulted in the critical re-reading of medieval historiography, which has also been largely focusing on the role of history writing in the construction of legitimacy and hegemonic identities.[166]

Concerning the Nordic and Baltic historiography, as well as hagiography scholars have especially stressed the role of intertextuality in the legitimisation of Christian rule and the integration of the borderlands. While studying how medieval writers constructed new identifications for the frontiers of Christendom, Lars Boje Mortensen has characterized the abundant use of intertextuality in frontier historiography as a way of integrating these lands into the universal Christian history and geography (2005). The peripheries, he argues, had 'to reinterpret their past and present in order to find and express their place in the Christian scheme of things' (Mortensen 2006b: 7; cf. 2006a).

In other words, in order to grant the peripheral events, agents and phenomena authority and meaning, the Baltic and Nordic chroniclers had to link them typologically to the authoritative, sacred Christian discourse. These strategies were based on the overall importance of typological thinking in medieval culture. Typology also was one of the most fundamental features of medieval historiography, generally characterised by numerous intertextual links to various textual authorities, including the bible, the Church fathers, and the classical authors.[167] According to this view, the present achieved

[166] Remensnyder 1995; Spiegel 1997; Goetz 1999; Althoff, Fried, and Geary 2002.

[167] Guenée 1980: 123–140; Schmale 1985: 38–54; Goetz 1999: 91–97, 162–163. A number of case studies on the topic are provided in Hen and Innes 2000.

meaning only if related to the sacred past and treated as a manifestation of the universal course of salvation history (Mégier 2000: 634).

However, it appears that the texts written about the newly Christianised areas are characterised by a particularly strong interest towards establishing typological and analogical connections with the sacred past. Partly, this can be explained with the lack of previous Christian writings about these lands. In addition, the constant recollection of the sacred authorities was also closely linked to the concerns related to establishing new rule and also new identities in the newly converted lands.

Patrick Geary (2006) has thus claimed that medieval history writing shows its full functionality in the construction of identities namely at the edges of the Christian world. He also adds that the frontier historians' dependence on textual authorities reveals the fragility of their environment, reminding us that they are pursuing of legitimacy and consolidation 'in worlds lacking alternative political hegemony' (Geary 2006: 328, cf. 323).

The borderlands also showed considerable innovation in their adaptation of typological connections. Partly departing from the ideas coined by Lars Boje Mortensen, Marek Tamm has studied the 'intertextual integration' of Livonia in the chronicles of Adam, Arnold, and Henry (2009a).[168] Elaborating on the close connections between power and territorial description[169], these studies also highlight the creativity that the authors writing about Livonia showed in integrating this region into the existing system of knowledge, or the mental map of Latin Christendom.[170]

It seems that flexibility is one of the key features that made typology an important reservoir of authority for the authors writing about remote regions. While typology enabled to establish useful connections between things, persons, and institutions, it did not necessarily imply a causal or an historical connection between the type and antitype (the past and the present), as they could be treated as different manifestations of the same eternal truth, or the salvation history that was related directly to god.[171] This flexibility of establishing typological identifications contributed to

[168] Tamm has also discussed the later works produced in first half of the thirteenth century (2011b). Here, the term 'intertextual integration' means a method of interpreting new geographical and religious information in the light of authoritative texts (Tamm 2009a: 27; Tamm 2011b: 205, cf. 208). Tamm argues: 'Livonia is a classic example of the performative power of an act of naming: although geographically, the place had of course existed and been inhabited for ages untold by various peoples who did not lack contact with their neighbours across the sea, it became a region with its own externally defined identity only after the first Christian missionaries and conquerors had given it a name.' (2011b: 186.)

[169] Especially Tamm 2009a that also draws on Anthony Grafton's (1995) study about the impact of the earlier authoritative canon for the textual mapping of the New World.

[170] E.g. Tamm 2011b: 208. These studies also highlight that the frontiers were not only the passive recipients of the Latin discourse, but the process was multidirectional, as the descriptions of the new territories were also important for the formation of European identity at large (e.g. Tamm 2009a: 35).

[171] As pointed out, for example, in Mégier 2000: 625–629, and Bagge 1996: 345–348.

diminishing the gap between the newly converted peripheries and the centres of Latin Christendom.[172]

The spread of typological thinking also owed much to the clerical historians and also institutions, as the identifications that typology helped to establish were, first and foremost, institutional. Yet, it would be misleading to think that the church only took advantage of typological thinking, as it also significantly helped to develop it. The clerical authors were well versed in the sacred discourse and thus they significantly contributed to the elaboration of various typological comparisons and strategies, which they used especially abundantly during the times of ecclesiastical crisis.[173]

The chronicles discussed in this study also illuminate well the close connection between the use of typological strategies and the clerical institutions.[174] At the same time, they provide good material for studying the role of typology in the Christianisation discourse. The following pages examine the development of typological models in the Hamburg-Bremen chronicles, which are also analysed in Article One (Kaljundi 2008). Anxious about inventing a tradition for the frontier, all these chroniclers take typology seriously, constantly referring back to the Roman, biblical and hagiographical past while describing their contemporary histories. Admittedly, as our chroniclers mixed various typological comparisons, merging the biblical, classical, and Christian histories[175], it is often difficult to differentiate entirely clearly between different typological layers. Nevertheless, some broad trends appear to reveal themselves as we look at the typological frameworks used by all these authors. Once again, these enable to address the question of change and continuity in this historiographical tradition.

The first of the general tendencies concerns the amalgamation of Greek and Roman layers. The references to classical texts are most extensively used by the earliest author, Adam, who was among the first to link the Baltic and Nordic realm to the Christian discourse.[176] The last book of the chronicle, the *Descriptio*, offers a particularly fine reminder about the importance of typological connections, as here Adam has taken great effort in linking the territories and peoples dwelling around Baltic, or Barbarian Sea (*mare barbarum*) to numerous textual authorities.[177] Facing a serious lack of

[172] As argued by Mary Garrison in connection to the geographical frontiers (2006), as well as to the constructions of the early medieval Frankish identities (2000).

[173] One of such periods being the times of the church reform, when clerical historians constantly had to find ways for affirming their institutions and their privileges, thereby elaborating various typological strategies (Mégier 2000: 634).

[174] Particularly Adam of Bremen has been studied from the institutional angle (Goetz 2006: 23–26). Volker Scior's study (2002), which examines the works of Adam, Helmold, and Arnold, likewise highlights the use of typological connections for the construction of institutional self-identifications.

[175] Such mixture of different referential frameworks is, however, not unique, but characteristic to the formation of Latin Christian identity as a whole (Geary 2002).

[176] Adam's quotations from the classical authors are discussed in Fraesdorff 2002: 317–319. These are also examined in Article One (Kaljundi 2008).

[177] A detailed analysis is provided in Scior 2002: 29–137.

Christian writings about this region, he compensated this with borrowings from alternative authoritative texts.

While it is very likely that some of the Greek and Roman motifs are mediated by hagiography, which constituted the most significant body of texts about the Nordic region[178], Adam still shows clear awareness of the value and authority of the Roman legacies. Good examples of this can be found in connection to the Saxon wars, which Adam describes at length.[179] A large proportion of the references to the classical authors relate namely to this early phase of the Christian expansion, as here Adam evokes the memory of the Roman Empire and compares the Franks to the expanding Romans.[180]

Yet, his relationship to the legacies of the attractive, but also 'pagan' Rome is twofold. The chronicle illuminates well that the Christian construction of paganism depended on the Roman images of 'barbarians', as Adam adapts these for describing the 'pagan' Saxons.[181] Adam has also transmitted motifs from the classical authors and especially from the writers of the Late Antiquity – e.g. Martian Capella[182] – for representing the Slavic and Nordic peoples. Thus, for example, basing himself on Martian, but also Jordanes, Solinus, and others, Adam argues that the Amazons, Cynocephali, Anthropopagi, and similar creatures dwell around the Baltic Sea.[183] Elements such as these also connect his *Descriptio* of the North to the authority of the classical authors. At the same time, Adam compares the 'pagan' gods, rituals and temples of the Saxons with those of the Romans – as the Roman ones were equally 'pagan'.[184]

These imageries connect the Baltic and Nordic territories to the already existing Christian discourse, but they are also closely related to strive for hegemony, being useful for legitimising conquest, conversion, as well as new institutions and rule. As also argued in Article One (Kaljundi 2008), the concern for linking the depictions of the Nordic and Baltic 'pagans' with the already existing authoritative images also reminds us about the importance of the 'other' for the making of Christian identity.[185]

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[178] For example, Einhard could have transmitted certain elements from Tacitus' *Germania* (c. 98). At one point, Adam himself well points to Einhard's importance, arguing in the fourth book of his chronicle that 'no mention, I have learned, has been made by any of the learned men what I have said concerning this Baltic or Barbarian Sea, save only Einhard' (GHEP IV.20; Tschan, p. 201).

[179] Adam's representation of the Saxon wars is given in GHEP I.8–10.

[180] A quotation from a likely forged document argues that the Franks have reduced all the land of the Saxons 'according to the ancient Roman practice' (*antiquo Romanorum more*) (GHEP I.13; Tschan, p. 15).

[181] Adam's representation of the Saxons is given in GHEP I.7–8. It appears to have been influenced especially by Tacitus' *Germania*, either directly or indirectly.

[182] Adam draws heavily on Martianus'es fifth-century encyclopedic work 'On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury' (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*) for envisaging the North. See e.g. GHEP IV.20.

[183] GHEP IV.19. Concrete references to classical authors are listed in [GHEP] Tschan: 200–201, notes 59–64.

[184] GHEP I.7. For example, the Saxons are said to have been venerating the Roman god Mercury (GHEP I.7).

[185] Even if this also means that we shall know very little about those peoples. As put by Marek Tamm in his study about the medieval representations of the Eastern Baltic, 'these reports are coded in a

The Greek and Roman elements of the 'other', however, gradually amalgamated into new models of writing about the Nordic pagan barbarians. The new schemata transmitted many elements from the classical image of the barbarians, together with its most prominent signs of radical difference, such as veneration of nature, lack of social order, practice of human sacrifice, cannibalism and other radically violent rites[186], or the overall centrality of rites and magic in the society. Yet, gradually the classical elements were amalgamated into a more regional image of the 'other'.[187]

Concerning the authors examined here, the classical elements of the 'other' are still prominent in the chronicle of Helmold who heavily and often in verbatim draws on Adam especially concerning the early encounters between Christians and pagans. Gradually, however, the explicit references to the classical authors diminished, and Henry, for example, uses very little of these. Next to the development of a more regional imagery of the Nordic and Baltic 'others', a significant factor must have been the background of the chroniclers. Authors such as Helmold and Henry, being educated at the missionary schools and at the frontier, were less versed in Latin and classical authors.

Yet the merging of the classical and Christian elements starts already in Adam's chronicle. Next to the classical authors, he also relies on the Christian elements, reminding us that the history of 'paganism' has always been part of the sacred discourse. In particular, the *Descriptio* illustrates well the simultaneous use of the classical and the Christian tradition. While Adam takes advantage of the Roman geographical writings, at the same time, he also carefully links the Nordic and Baltic peoples and territories to the biblical tradition.[188]

According to David Fraesdorff (2002, 2005), the whole concept of the North (*aquilo*), as developed by Adam and later adapted by Helmold, illustrates well the merging of the classical and the Christian elements, including the very negative conceptualisation of the North in the Bible.[189]

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manner that does not allow us to proffer any very certain statements about the actual practices, natural environment, or world picture of the inhabitants of the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea' (2011b: 206).

[186] Human sacrifice is depicted, for instance, in GHEP I.7. As well argued by Stephen Greenblatt on the example of the New World discourse, representations of human sacrifice, or cannibalism were of crucial importance for establishing a radical difference between 'us' and 'them' (2003: 130–132).

[187] Thus, the thirteenth-century descriptions of the religious life of the natives also emphasise nature worship, various divination practices, and the cremation of the dead (Tamm 2011b: 206).

[188] To bring an example also used in Article One (Kaljundi 2008), when Adam speaks of the Norwegian magicians, he borrows from the Romans, saying that they are 'so superior in the magic arts or incantations that they profess to know what everyone is doing the world over' (GHEP IV.31, Tschan, p. 212; cf. Vergil *Aeneid* xi.344-5, Juvenal *Satires* vi.402). At the same time, however, he adds that they 'also draw great sea monsters to shore with a powerful mumbling of words and do much else which one reads in the Scriptures about magicians' (*Ibid.*; cf. Genesis 1: 21).

[189] See Fraesdorff 2002: 309–310. The most emblematic example of this concerns Gog and Magog, which in the Scriptures signify the archetypical foes of faith and which are linked with the North. For example, Ezekiel 39:2 associated those figures with the North, even though some other biblical books also locate them elsewhere. Also in the Apocalypse (20:7), Gog and Magog figure prominently as the

Yet, this association of the North with something radically alien, wild, and barbaric is also based on the regional legacy concerning the times of the Saxon wars and the early missions, when most of northern and eastern Europe was still something unknown (Fraesdorff 2002: 310–311, 316–318).

Next to the use of the classical and biblical texts, one also has to take into account the influence of hagiography. Hagiography had a profound impact on history writing throughout medieval Europe, and it also strongly influenced historiography in the Baltic Sea region. For the chronicles discussed here, the saints' lives offered useful motifs due to the prominence of missionary topics and the significance of missionary saints for the church of Hamburg-Bremen. Also the scarcity of other kinds of texts encouraged the use of hagiographical materials.

Hagiography also had an important mediating function. Above, we have already pointed to its in transmitting elements from the classical authors. Saints' lives also mediated various biblical models. In this process, hagiography not only transmitted, but also transformed the already existing schemata. The chroniclers, in their turn, developed these even further. Adam illustrates this process well and reveals the mixing of the different images of paganism, as he is saying that 'These excerpts about the advent, the customs and superstitions of the Saxons, which superstitions the Slavs and the Swedes still appear to observe in their pagan rites, we have taken from the writings of Einhard.'[190]

Similarly to the overall progress of the cult of saints, the development of hagiography was closely bound to the struggles for ecclesiastical authority (cf. Wood 2001: 29) In this region, the most influential hagiographical narrative was the life of St. Ansgar (c. 831–865). He was the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen whose legendary mission to Denmark and Sweden was often recalled for supporting the primacy of Hamburg-Bremen in the North. *Vita Anskarii*, written by the next archbishop, St. Rimbert (c. 865–888), was designed to back these ambitions.[191] Adam's vision of the North as the patrimony of his church also found support from this text, which he used extensively (Fraesdorff 2002: 317–318).

Circulating widely, the life of Ansgar had a formative impact on the later historiographical representations of mission. Hagiographical accounts also helped to establish the idea of saintly missionary as a central agent of the Christianisation of the frontiers, which is typical for medieval expansion histories in general (Wood 2001). Adam's chronicle is a good example of this adaptation of saintly ideals, as it shows bishops setting aside the comforts of

foes of the true faith and the church. Adam speaks of them in connection to the Swedes (GHEP I.28; cf. *Vita Anskarii* 25; Ezekiel 39:6; Isaiah 49:1).

[190] GHEP I.8; Tschan, p. 11.

[191] Appearing as a hybrid of two genres, a saint's life and an ecclesiastical history (Mellor 2008), this text illustrates well that 'missionary hagiography' was not a homogenous genre. Hagiographical narratives merged a mixture of literary elements, used variable literary forms (Wood 2001: 19), and became more standardised only in the late Middle Ages, partly due to the spread of anthologies (DuBois 2008b: 21).

live, travelling widely among the pagans, and confronting dangers fearlessly.[192] Missionaries were prominent in Adam's chronicle (cf. Goetz 2006: 26) and retained their distinguished position also in Helmold's and Henry's histories.

Yet the status of the missionary authority figures goes through a remarkable change. Adam promoted the saintly bishops of Hamburg-Bremen, starting from St. Willehad (the first bishop of Bremen, r. 787–789) and St. Ansgar.[193] For Helmold and Henry, the key figures of the evangelisation were the members of the lower clergy, as also analysed in Article Two (Kaljundi 2009).

The prominence of missionaries in Helmold's and Henry's works relates to the background of these two authors, but also shows the authority of the already established models and schemata for representing conquest and conversion. Although Helmold was deeply involved in mission, he was writing his chronicle in an age of transition, when the whole process of conquest, conversion, and colonisation was becoming much more dependant on well organised and large-scale military support rather than individual missionaries (Scior 2002: 138–146, 186–191). It thus seems plausible to argue that Helmold's still steady emphasis on the individual missionary work also bases itself on the already existing tradition (cf. Jezierski [forthcoming]). Thereby it also illuminates the impact of the early *vitae* on the later representations of mission.

The models transmitted from the early missionary history influenced not only the images of the protagonists and the champions of the faith, but also the depiction of the enemies. This particularly concerns the legacies of the pagan invasions, which also shaped the repertoire of biblical quotations that were used for describing wars with pagans.

The assaults of the Northmen and Hungarians to Saxony, Frisia and elsewhere in the tenth century are prominently represented in Adam's chronicle[194], from where these accounts have also transmitted into Helmold's

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[192] As pointed out by Jezierski [forthcoming], and Scior 2002: 64–71. The text circulated widely in Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Oldenburg, and possibly also Segeberg.

[193] The legacy of the earlier hagiographical layers is well reflected in the prominence Adam gives to missionaries while presenting the early history of Saxony. Immediately after mentioning the peace truce between the Franks and the Saxons, the focus of the chronicle is turned to saintly missionaries. 'And now, girded to write about spiritual triumphs over men's souls, we shall begin as follows about the preachers who brought the fiercest peoples of Germany to the divine religion.' (*Nunc autem spiritales animarum triumphos ad scribendum succincti, praedicatoribus, de his qui ferocissimos Germaniae populos ad divinam religionem perduxerint, tale sumamus exordium.*) (GHEP I.10, Tschan, p. 12.) In the next chapters, missionary bishops are represented to have played a leading role in the Christianisation of Saxony, including St. Boniface (GHEP I.11, Tschan pp. 12–13; drawing on the several *vitae* of St. Boniface and to some extent on the Annals of Fulda (*Annales Fuldenses*)), Willehad, as well as Willibrord (c. 658–739) who was not directly related to Hamburg-Bremen (GHEP I.12, Tschan, pp. 13–15; drawing on the *Vita Willehadi* and the Annals of Fulda).

[194] First, Adam represents the Northmen's 'piratical forays in every direction', that is, into Frisia; as well as their destruction of Hamburg (c. 845) (GHEP I.23, Tschan, p. 26). Thereafter he describes the raids to Saxony, as well as to other German, Gallian and British territories in around 876, claiming that 'wild barbarianism ruled without restraint' (*gravis barbarorum irruptio…immaniter debaccharetur*)

text. Mostly, Adam based his knowledge on the annals of the monasteries, the Frankish chronicles, and the saints' lives, which give a very radical image of the enemies. Quite typically, he represents the raids as a threat to Christendom.[195] These stories about the Christian suffering contributed considerably to the authority of the early history of the Church of Hamburg-Bremen.

Many elements used for representing the pagan atrocities during the invasion period were also appropriated for the descriptions of later conflicts between the Christians and pagans. First and foremost these concerned the emphasis on the pronouncedly anti-Christian nature of such conflicts, which the chroniclers expressed by highlighting the captivating, torturing and killing of Christians and clerics, as well as by pointing to the destruction of the churches and other religious edifices and objects.[196]

Also the stress on the cruelty and ferocity of the pagans appears to have transmitted well into the acconts concerning the later periods. Adam first mentions this element in connection to the Saxons who are 'fierce by nature'.[197] Later, these features are also connected to other pagan peoples, yet particularly the Northmen.[198] This reveals the hagiographical influence, as in the *vitae* the cruelty of the Nordic peoples glorified the saints who worked in their lands, or also explained the failure of their mission. According to Adam, thus, St. Ansgar and St. Rimbert went to preach among 'a people so ferocious that it is hardly human'.[199] Yet, the emphasis on ferocity rises even stronger in Adam's descriptions of the Viking and Hungarian invasions in the ninth and tenth centuries.

(GHEP I.40, Tschan, p. 37; cf. I.41). The invasion of the Hungarians he considers another expression of 'the violence of the barbarians' (GHEP I.52, Tschan, p. 46; cf. I.55).

[195] For example, Adam states that during the invasions 'the pagans established their power over the Christians' (GHEP I.40, Tschan, p. 37). Claims such as these were also widely used elsewhere to support the ideology of fighting for the defence of the church (Tyerman 2007: 38).

[196] Saying that the Northmen have devastated all land, Adam concludes 'Why say more? Cities with their inhabitants, bishops with their whole flocks were struck down at one time. Stately churches were burned with the faithful.' (GHEP I.40, Tschan, p. 38; cf. *Annales Palidenses*, years 880–882). He especially underlines 'the persecution which then raged far and wide against the churches', as well as the 'slaughtering of the Christians' (GHEP I.41, Tschan, pp. 38–39). Also in connection to the Hungarian assaults, Adams speaks of the 'persecution of the churches' (*persecutio cclesiarum*) (GHEP I.52, Tschan, p. 45). Sacrilege also dominates his account of an Hungarian raid to the vicinities of Bremen (c. 915–918), as he says that the enemies were 'burning churches, butchering priests before the altars, and with impunity were slaying clerics and layman indiscriminately or leading them into captivity' (GHEP I.55, Tschan, pp. 48) To this, Adam adds that 'the crosses were mutilated and derided by pagans' (*Ibid.*).

[197] *natura feroces* (GHEP I.8, Tschan, p. 11). They are also said to have been 'very warlike, terrible in their valour and agility' (*gens ferocissima, virtute et agilitate terribilis*) (GHEP I.3, Tschan, p. 8).

[198] They are defined as a 'very ferocious folk' (*gentes ferocissimas*) already in Adam's list of the neighbouring peoples of the pagan Saxons (GHEP I.5, Tschan, p. 9). However, for example, the chronicle also argues the Curonians to have been 'exceedingly bloodthirsty because of their inborn devotion to idolatry' (*gens crudelissima propter nimium ydolatriae cultum*) (GHEP IV.16, Tschan, p. 197).

[199] *in tam feroci, quae vix hominem vivit, natione* (GHEP I.44, Tschan, p. 41; cf. *Vita Rimberti* xx).

From Adam's chronicle, the notion of ferocity is also transmitted into Helmold's text. First, Helmold reproduces Adam's depictions of the Viking and Hungarian invasions.[200] Thereafter, he continues to use the concept in his own missionary history, associating 'ferocity' with the pagan Slavs.[201]

Helmold's chronicle also shows well how the descriptions of the Viking assaults – 'the tempest of wars, which the turbulent Northmen brought upon the whole world'[202] – gave many examples for describing the later pagan warfare. In particular, the emphasis on the specifically anti-Christian features of this warfare – de-sacralisation and destruction of churches and the killing of clerics[203] – was transmitted into the descriptions of the Slavic raids and revolts. Helmold argues that 'there has been inborn in the Slavic race a cruelty that knows no satiety, a restlessness that harries the countries lying about them by land and sea'.[204] In his writing, the Slavic ferocity and cruelty are above all associated with the persecution of Christians, as 'it is hard to tell how many kinds of death they [the Slavs] have inflicted on the followers of Christ'.[205] Among the Slavs, the people of the Rügen Island, who

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[200] Helmold also represented those raids as an expression of 'barbarian fury'. The chronicler especially associates this with the Danes (*furore Danorum* [HCS 5, p. 50]), but also speaks of the cruelty (*crudelitas*) of the Danish as well as Swedish tyrants (HCS 5, p. 52). Next to this, Helmold mentions the 'bloody ferocity' (*cruentam feritatem*) of the Swedish kings (HCS 8, p. 62). In this text, ferocity also becomes one of the defining features of all the neighbouring pagan peoples. First, Helmold quotes Adam about the Saxons being 'the most ferocious and rebellious folk' (*gentem ferocissimam atque rebellem*) (HCS 3, p. 42), and then applies the same signifier to all neighbouring pagans.

[201] In the second half of his chronicle, Helmold often also speaks of the 'Slavic fury' (*Slavicus furor*) (HCS 56, p. 208; 67, p. 232; 70, p. 250), or the barbarian fury (*barbaricus furor*), which is likewise associated with the Slavs (HCS 66, p. 230; 69, p. 240).

[202] *bellorum tempestas, quae Northmannis tumultuantibus in toto pene desevit orbe* (HCS 7, p. 56; Tschan, p. 61).

[203] For a description of how Vikings 'without warning burst upon the peaceful and unsuspecting people' (*improvisi super quietos et impavidos vastaverunt*) and ravage the Christian lands, see HCS 15, p. 82; Tschan, pp. 80–81. In connection to the Vikings, especially the cruelty of the Danes – the later rivals of Hamburg-Bremen – stands out. Helmold also associates specifically cruel anti-Christian violence with the later Danish rulers, whom he calls 'tyrants' (*tyrannos*) (e.g. HCS 7, p. 56). Especially noteworthy is his representation of the revolt lead by Sven Gagelbart, during which 'All the wicked ones in the countries of the north stood up together, rejoicing that now the way was open to their malice – namely, for wars and disturbances – and they began to harass the neighbouring countries by land and sea.' (*Consuerrexeruntque omnes "iniqui in finibus"aquilonis gaudentes vel tunc patere locum maliciae suae, bellis scilicet et perturbationibus, ceperuntque finitima regna vexare terra marique.*) (HCS 15, p. 82; Tschan, p. 80; cf. 1 Maccabees 9: 23.) Sven himself is said to have given 'free reign to his passionate cruelty by carrying on the most grievous persecution of the Christians' (*in sua crudelitate sevire cepit, gravissimam in Christianos persecucionem exercens*) (HCS 15, p. 82; Tschan, p. 80). Also the Poles and Bohemians are 'exceedingly cruel and hard-hearted in rapine in murder (*in rapinis et mortibus crudelissimi*); they save neither monasteries, nor churches, nor cemeteries' (HCS 1, p. 38; Tschan, pp. 47–48).

[204] *Fuit preterea Slavorum genti crudelitas ingenita saturari nescia, inpaciens otii, vexans regionum adiacentia terra marique.* (HCS 52, p. 198; Tschan, pp. 159–160.)

[205] *Quanta enim mortium genera Christicolis intulerint, relatu difficile est, cum his quidem viscera extorserint palo circumducentes, hos cruci affixerint, irridentes signum redemptionis nostrae.* (HCS 52, p. 198; Tschan, p. 160.) Here, Helmold lists various kinds of tortures. Later, while representing a Slavic pagan sanctuary, Helmold argues that there the missionaries saw 'the shackles and the diverse

resisted the longest, especially stand out, being 'rude and savage with bestial madness'.[206]

Stress the specifically pagan ferocity and fury of the enemy is generally characteristic of the expansion histories. As shown by Carl Erdmann, these features are often mentioned in the Ottonian sources. In these texts, paganism alone is not the sole explanation for fighting the heathens, but the outrageous behaviour and fury of the enemy is also mentioned. (Erdmann 1977: 101–102.)

From among the texts examined in this study, also Henry's chronicle continues to emphasise the specifically anti-Christian nature of pagan warfare.[207] In this work, the term *ferocitas gencium* figures prominently[208] and Leonid Arbusow has associated it with the notion's frequent use in liturgical texts (1950: 127–128, 1951: 48–50). Arbusow connects the term with the prayer for the Roman emperor in the Good Friday liturgy, which was one of the most suitable texts for preparing oneself for fighting with the pagans and also one of the oldest of its kind.[209] Also during the crusades, it was in common use as a *Contra paganos* prayer, thereby becoming an integral part of war liturgy.[210] Characteristic to this prayer is its emphasis on the 'ferocity of the pagans', which occurs in connection to asking divine protection against the pagans.[211] Next to this, the use of Easter liturgy (where

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kinds of instruments of torture they were wont to use on the Christians', and also 'the priests of the Lord, emaciated by their long detention in captivity' (HCS 84 p. 290; Tschan, p. 220).

[206] *gentem rudem et beluina rabie sevientem* (HCS 108, p. 372; Tschan, p. 275). Already earlier, they are said to have been 'a cruel people' (*populi crudeles*) (HCS 36, p. 148). Only towards the end of the chronicle, they are converted from 'their natural wilderness' (*ab innata sibi feritate ad novae conversacionis religionem convertebat*) (HCS 108, p. 372; Tschan, p. 275).

[207] In a nutshell, this is well illustrated by his representation of a campaign that the Saaremaa men made to Sweden. Placed before the depiction of the crusade campaign to Saaremaa (1227), it also serves as a justification of the expedition. Henry argues that William, the papal legate (see above) saw 'the Oesilians [the Saaremaa people] returning from Sweden with their spoils and a great many captives. … When the lord legate learned of all the evils which they did in Sweden, of the churches that were burned, the priests who were slain, the sacraments that were administered and violetad, and similar misfortunes, he soorrowed with the captives and praeyd to the Lord that revenge be taken upon the evildoers.' (HCL XXX.1, pp. 215–216; Brundage, pp. 238–239.)

[208] Henry uses 'ferocity' in connection to various native groups in various combinations, which include, for example, the Estonians (HCL XIX.4, p. 127; XXVI.13, p. 192), the Estonians, Lithuanians, and the Saaremaa people (HCL XXIII.3, XXX.4, pp. 217–218); yet he also speaks of ferocius pagans in general (HCL XXIII.4, p. 158).

[209] It is found in both the Gelasian and the Greogrian version of the Roman Sacramentary, dating to the seventh and eight centuries. According to Carl Erdmann, the prayer also is significant to the development of the ideology of religious warfare, as it bears witness to the emergence of the designation of enemies as pagans (*gentes*) and an idea of a ruler to whom God should subject the barbarian peoples. The old idea that victory should promote the peace of the church is, hence, accompanied by a second theme: to His people, who rely on Him, God should give victory over the enemies who trust in their own power and ferocity. (Erdmann 1977: 28–29.)

[210] In the crusading context, the prayer has been used as early as 1188. On this prayer were anchored also the *Contra paganos* Mass sets that were in use by the thirteenth century (Linder 2003: 138). The *contra paganos* and *in tempore belli* prayers are examined in Linder 2003: 115–118; for the *Contra Paganos* Masses see also Linder 2003: 120.

[211] … *ut Deus et Dominus noster subdiatas illi faciat omnes barbaras nations ad nostram perpetuam*

the prayer for the Roman emperor was set in the liturgical calendar) was suitable for the crusades also due to its close association with the veneration of the cross and the suffering of Christ.[212]

In Henry's chronicle, 'ferocity' is one of the key signifiers of the pagans and it often occurs namely in connection with the idea of suppressing the ferocity of the pagans, as it does in the liturgical texts discussed above.[213] Even though it is not possible to establish the liturgical link with full certainty, the connection seems plausible due to the extensive adaptation of those prayers all over Christendom.[214] The dominance of 'ferocity of the pagans' phrase in Henry's chronicle, therefore, could offer a fine example of the impact of liturgical vocabulary on history writing.

Another factor that might have further encouraged the use of the ferocity motif is its prominence in the crusade discourse. The ferocity and cruelty of the pagans was an important element in the crusade histories and propaganda, as preachers 'fostered in medieval audiences a variety of negative feelings, beginning with horror and sorrow, and in view of the enemies cruelty, the search for vengeance' (Menache 2010: 3–4). Similarly to the earlier representations of fighting with the pagans, in crusade discourse, the representations of the torture and killing of the Christian people go hand in hand with the descriptions of the destruction of the holy places (Menache 2010: 8; cf. Dressler 1995). However, next to the wide spread of the motif in liturgy and crusade writings, one should also not omit the prominence of this idea in the earlier regional historiography and the possibility that various elements characteristic to the crusade literature were circulating in the Nordic and Baltic region already much earlier.

In order to discuss one more example concerning the changes and continuities in the representation of the expansion around the Baltic Sea area, we would like to touch upon the representation of the great crisis of the

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pacem … respice ad Romanum imperium, ut gentes, quae in sua feritate confidunt, potentiae Tuae dextera comprimantur (cited in Arbusow 1951: 48–49). During the Livonian crusades, *christianum exercitum* was of course used instead of *Romanum imperium*. The same phrase, *gentium feritate compressa*, was used in the oldest war liturgies, dating to the late eight century, as was the expression *feritita gentes*. The oldest prayers from the Gelasian Sacramentary also contain the phrase *gentium feritate compressa*. Later, these texts were diffused in Sacramentaries, and also in the Gelasian oration *Deus qui conteris bella* that was adopted for the coronation of German kings. (Arbusow 1951: 48–49.) The use of *feritita gentes* in liturgy, including the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries is discussed in Linder 2003: 11–12.

[212] During the Iberian crusades, the Easter Liturgy could have likewise been appropriated the war Masses celebrated before the battles, as suggested in O'Callaghan 2004: 185–190. In connection to the crusades, the Easter Liturgy was also used in late medieval Scandinavia (Jensen 2007: 116–117).

[213] Not insignificantly, the other prominent signifier of the pagans, 'perfidy' (*perfidia*) could also have liturgical background, as according to Leonid Arbusow the phrase *gentes perfidia* can be found from the early war Masses dating to the turn of the eight and ninth centuries (from the Gelasian Sacramentary), where they originally designate the Normans (1951: 48–49).

[214] For example, the notion of the 'ferocity of the pagans' appears in the records Spanish crusades. The eleventh-century Catalan sacramentaries (that are connected to the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries) contain a prayer that appeals to divine mercy 'so that, once the ferocity of the gentiles has been repressed and exhausted, we may give praise in thanksgiving' (O'Callaghan 2004: 185–186).

Church of Hamburg-Bremen in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (see above). This period of constant power struggles stimulated the clerical historians to develop strategies for supporting the authority of their institution and writers such as Adam became well trained in defending their church, also passing their relevant literary constructions on to the authors who came after them.

One of the most authoritative biblical comparisons used for times of crisis concerned the destruction of Jerusalem.[215] When the Slavs destroyed Hamburg in 1066, Adam cries out: 'There was fulfilled for us the prophecy which runs, 'O, God, the heathen are come into thy inheritance; they have defiled thy holy temple,' and the other sayings which prophetically bewail the destruction of Jerusalem.'[216] Adam has also used the comparison with Jerusalem elsewhere, while lamenting the destruction of the frontier settlements, the pagan revolts, or other misfortunes.[217]

Later, Helmold adapted the same typological comparison.[218] However, he can also link his narrative to the liberation of physical Jerusalem. In his short description of the First Crusade, the idea of liberating the Holy City from the barbarians is repeated four times.[219] While this is a typical element of crusading rhetoric, Helmold's account of the Crusade is preceded by a long description how the Saxon towns fell into the hands of the Slavs.[220] Thereby he is establishing a comparison between the Saxon frontier settlements and Jerusalem, which have both fallen into the hands of the pagans and are in a need of liberation.

From the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the lament concerning the fall of Jerusalem became closely associated with the crusade texts. Jonathan Riley-Smith has even argued that as the Holy Land was the patrimony of Christ, no passage of scripture was more often quoted in connection with crusading than the opening words of Psalm 78: 'O God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance.' (2003: 21.)

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[215] As presented in Psalms 73, 78, and 82.

[216] GHEP III.50, Tschan, p. 158; cf. Psalms 78: 1.

[217] E.g. GHEP III.50. Even the fire in the Cathedral of Saint Peter in Bremen (GHEP II.77) is compared with 'the burning of the temple' and the reconstruction of this church with 'the building of the temple' (GHEP II.78; Tschan, p. 111).

[218] He also quotes verbatim Adam's description of the fall of Hamburg, as well as the verse from the Psalms: 'There was fulfilled for us the prophecy which runs, "O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance; Thy holy temple have they defiled" and other sayings which prophetically bewail the destruction of the city of Jerusalem.' (HCS.24, p. 108; Tschan, p. 99; cf. GHEP III.51; Psalms 79: 1.)

[219] First, Helmold describes Peter the Eremite to have exhorted 'the people to go to Jerusalem to liberate the Holy City which was held by the barbarians' (*liberatio civitatis sanctae, quae tenebatur a barbaris*) (HCS 31, p. 128; Tschan, p. 112). Then he describes a letter by Peter, which reads that 'the City must be liberated which was trodden down by the heathen' (*liberanda esset civitas, quae calcabatur a gentibus*) (*Ibid*; cf. Luke 21: 24). We learn that the crusaders 'regained Nicaea, Antioch, and many cities that were held by the barbarians (*civitates a barbaris possessas recipere*). Thence they went on and liberated the Holy City from the barbarians (*civitatem sanctam de manu barbarorum liberaverunt*).' (HCS 31, pp. 130–131; Tschan, p. 113.)

[220] HCS 22–26, pp. 104–120.

Concerning the Baltic Sea area, however, this verse offers a fine example that certain powerful motifs associated with religious warfare were circulating in the regional history writing already well before the time of the crusades. Even though the region was lacking the immediate contact with the biblical environment, which reinforced the use of biblical imageries for the crusades[221], the comparisons between the biblical and the local realms were nevertheless well established in the area's historiography.

On the other hand, the spread of the crusade movement still rearranged the value of many already existing models, loading them with new authority and topicality. As it is the case with the Jerusalem comparison, often these schemata were based on comparisons with biblical history, which were a crucial resource for the crusades (Riley-Smith 2003: 94, 143).

In the Baltic Sea realm, the impact of crusade vocabulary is most visible in the chronicles of Arnold and Henry, which were written at the high point of the crusade movement. Yet, the two earlier authors, Adam and Helmold also differ in their thinking about religious warfare. While Adam's chronicle is written prior to the crusades, then Helmold's chronicle, written already after the Wendic crusade, is a transitional work that combines both old schemata, characteristic to the previous writing about missionary warfare, and a new kind of a vocabulary (as also argued in Article Two [Kaljundi 2009]).

Since the First Crusade, historians especially favoured the parallels with the history of Israel, identifying the crusaders with the great heroes from the Old Testament, such as Joshua, Gideon, David, and Judas Maccabeus (Riley-Smith 2003: 91–119). The crusade authors also appropriated several biblical motifs associated with the Israelites fight against the unbelievers, such as the fewness of the Christians in comparison to the pagans ('one against the thousand'), or the idea of divine help in battle (*Ibid.*: 91–92). Although the analogies with the wars of the Israelites had also been present in the earlier writings, they witnessed a particular rise along with the crusades, as for these campaigns the histories about the divinely elected people fighting legitimate battles for their faith, commanded and protected by their god suited particularly well (Garrison 2006).

In the Baltic Sea realm, bringing analogies with Israel also was not something new. The historians of the missionary wars had capitalised on comparisons with the wars that the Israelites they had fought in the name of the Lord against the unbelievers. Adam and Helmold prefer to develop these analogies by comparing the Slavs with the foes of Israel, especially the Amorrhites, an ancient people from the Old Testament, who inhabited the land of Canaan before the advent of Israel.[222]

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[221] As put by Christopher Tyerman, 'It is hard to exaggerate the dependence of … contemporaries on the Scriptures for imagery and language. Many saw Urban II's holy war as the fulfilment of biblical prophecy or an imitation and renewal of scriptural struggles.' (2007: 31.)

[222] In the Old Testament, Palestine is called the land of Amorrhites (Amos 2:9,10; Genesis 48:22; Joshua 24:15,18). Their name is frequently used for designating all non-Israelite peoples and tribes of Canaan (Joshua 11:19; 15:63; 18:28; 1 Kings 7:14; 2 Kings 21:2; Judges 1:21; Joshua 10:5,6; Ezekiel

At first, Adam uses the typological connection to the Amorrhites for explaining the Slavic revolts. For example, while presenting the setbacks of the Christian expansion in the beginning of the tenth century, Adam remarks: 'For as yet the inquites of the Amorrhites are not at the full, nor had the time to favor them come yet.'[223] Similarly to Adam, Helmold also brings comparisons with the Old Testament history and uses the biblical schemata for explaining failure. Thus he connects the Slavic revolt to the fortunes of the Israelies. 'He /--/ who of old wiped out in the sight of Israel the seven tribes of Canaan, and kept only the strangers in whom He tried Israel – He, I say, willed now to harden a small part of the heathen through whom He might confound our perfidy.'[224]

The associations with the biblical antagonists again reflect the importance of the 'other' for the constructions of Christian histories, also discussed above. Carl Erdmann has well pointed out that while the great Old Testament figures were the first role models in whose terms the religious idea of war was expressed, then from the turn of the millennium, their memory was often evoked namely in pair with that of their enemies, such as the Philistines.[225] The Philistines were a Canaanite tribe whom the Bible mentions around 250 times and presents as one of the most powerful enemies of Israel. The Deuteronomic tradition narrates of an almost constant line of battles between the Philistines and Israelites, which finally ends with David's victory over them.

In the chronicles discussed here, the Philistines gain more prominence in Henry's work. A most vivid example of this relates to the year 1206, when an army of the crusaders and Semgallians was attacking a Livic fort. Immediately before the siege the Livic chieftain is represented to have 'comforted and encouraged them, saying, as the Philistines once did: 'Take your courage and fight, ye Philistines, lest you come to be servants to the Hebrews."[226] The phrase refers to the First Book of Kings, where the

16:3; Genesis 14:13; Genesis 23), yet at the same time the Amorrhites are also represented as one tribe among the Canaanites, or an independent tribe. In the Old Testament, the name is associated with the idolatruous rites of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan, as well as with the warlike and wicked characteristics of the foes of Israel (Deuteronomy 2:11,20; and 3:11,13).

[223] GHEP I.52, Tshcan, p. 46; cf. Genesis 15:16, Psalms 101:14. He makes a similar comment concerning the Slavic revolt against the Christian Prince Gottschalk (GHEP III.49; cf. Genesis 15:16; Psalms 101:14; Matthew 18:7; 1 Corinthians 11:19). A description of an earlier Slavic revolt also contains references to the tribes of Canaan (GHEP II.42, cf. Deuteronomy 7:1, Judges 3:1, Acts 13:19).

[224] *Ille…qui olim deletis coram Israel VII gentibus Canaan solos reservavit allophilos, in quibus experiretur Israel, ille, inquam, modicam gentilium portionem nunc indurare voluit, per quos nostra condunderetur perfidia.* (HCS 16, p. 88; Tschan, p. 85; cf. Acts 13:19.) Helmold has also transmitted the comparison between the Slavs and Amorrhites (HCS 22, p. 106; cf. Genesis 15:16), which originates from Adam. The Saxons, on the other hand, he compares to the Israelites.

[225] Here, Erdmann drew on Iberian examples from around the millennium (1977: 99–102).

[226] *Confortabant enim eos Dabrelus, senior ipsorum, et animabat, quemadmodum Philistei quondam dicentes: 'Confrontamini, Philistiim, et pugnate, ne serviatis Hebreis.'* (HCL X.10, p. 40; Brundage, p. 61). Cf. 1 Kings 4:9 where the Philistines also use direct speech: 'Take courage, and behave like men, ye Philistines: lest you come to be servants to the Hebrews, as they have served you: take courage and fight.' Henry has used the same biblical expression for representing the chieftain Dobrel and his men

Philistines are called to fight against the Israelites before the battle of Aphek, during which they captured the Ark of the Covenant. Similarly to the Philistines who won this particular battle, the Livs also remain undefeated, as the crusaders failed to take their stronghold. Yet, in both narratives – in the bible and in the chronicle – the final triumph is reserved to the Israelites and the crusaders respectively.

In Henry's chronicle the typological comparisons to the biblical wars of the Israelites are omnipresent. The crusaders are represented to fight the battles of the lord against the pagans and according to Henry god fights for these warriors, as he had fought for the chosen people.[227] While several of the biblical motifs and comparisons used by Henry were already well established in the earlier writings about the mission and warfare in the Baltic Sea realm, his choice of some biblical themes and figures also bears witness to the impact of the crusades on the repertoire of biblical analogies.[228]

First and foremost, Henry favours the Maccabees over all other biblical figures, his quotations from the Books of Maccabees outnumbering all other biblical books.[229] The Maccabees had been appropriated in the representations of religious warfare also prior to the crusades, including the

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also for the second a time, which suggests that the analogy is not chosen at random (Undusk 2011: 57–59). In 1212, the Livs again had to defend the same fort against the Germans. This time, Henry represents them saying to each other 'Take heart and fight, Livonians, lest you be slaves to the Germans.' (*Confortamini Lyvones, et pugnate, ne serviatis Theuthonicis*.) (HCL XVI.4, p. 108; Brundage, p. 127; cf. 1 Kings 4:9.) On this occasion the chronicler has replaced the Philistines and Hebrews with the Livs and Germans, but the reference to the biblical history is still clear. Yet, during this siege the Livs do not share the fortunes of the Philistines, but are subjugated to the crusaders.

[227] As pointed out already by one of the first modern scholars of Henry's chronicle, Heinrich Hildebrand (1865: 38). The phrase *prelia Domini preliari contra paganos* (cf. 1 Samuel 25:28) is used in e.g. HCL XXV.1, p. 178; whereas the phrase *prelia Domini* (cf. 1 Kings 25:28) occurs in e.g. HCL XI.5, p. 53; XIII.2, p. 68; XXI.2, p. 142. Henry also uses the phrase *preliabatur prelia Domini cum leticia* (cf. 1 Maccabees 3:2) in HCL XIII.2, p. 68; XXVII.1, p. 194. He likewise refers to the idea that God 'fought for them' [the crusaders] (*pro eis pugnavit*) (cf. Exodus 14:25) in HCL XV.3, p. 91; XXV.4, p. 184; XXVII.1, pp. 194–195. The idea extends also to the Church of Riga as a whole: after one victorious battle 'the Livonian church knew truly that God was fighting for it' (HCL XV.3, p. 91; Brundage p. 113; cf. Exodus 14:25). Similarly, the crusaders go into battle believing in God's favour: *in Domino sperandum* (HCL XII.3, p. 60), *spem totam ponebant in Domino* (XXV.4, p. 183; cf. Psalms 73:28, 78:7), *in quo confidentes* (HCL XI.5, p. 53; XXIII.9, p. 166; XXV.4, p. 183; XXX.4, p. 219; cf. Psalms 10:1). The Sword Brethren are called the 'army of the Lord' that is fighting 'with joy the battles of the Lord' (HCL XIII.2, p. 68; Brundage p. 89; cf. 1 Maccabees 3:2); in the same passage Henry states 'the aid and victory of the Lord was always with them' (*Ibid.*).

[228] For example, also Christopher Tyerman points out that Henry tends to favour many biblical sources that were emblematic to the crusades (2011: 29).

[229] The First Book of the Maccabees is the biblical book that Henry cites most frequently. According to Leonid Arbusow, the chronicle contains 64 different expressions borrowed from 1 Maccabees, occurring 149 times in total. Relying on the Arbusow-Bauer edition, Christipher Tyerman has counted nearly 250 individual quotations and paraphrases from the two Books of the Maccabees (2011: 29). Jaan Undusk has shown that Henry not only cites amply from the Maccabees, but also cites carefully, as there is remarkable accordance between the context of these biblical books and that of the chronicle (2011: 53–60).

writings about the Baltic Sea region.[230] Yet, in this region, these comparisons became particularly prominent during the crusades.[231]

The analogies with the Maccabees lend themselves easily available, although they have also transformed significantly over time.[232] The Books of the Maccabees present a militant narrative about the second century BC Judean civil wars during which the Maccabean family led the Jews to revolt against the Seleucids. These events were a suitable reference for the crusades, as the Bible praised these wars as the work of god through his followers, who meet their enemies with hymns and prayers.[233] The explanations for their success during the crusades, however, are not limited to this. The bible representing the Maccabees simultaneously as martyrs and warriors (Buc 2006: 458, 468), these figures enabled to combine spiritual and martial thinking, or clerical and knightly ideals that was emblematic to the crusades.[234] The union between close spiritual relationship with god and martial skill made them suitable authority figures for religious warfare, as well as for the military orders, including the Teutonic Order, which came to figure prominently in the Baltic region from the thirteenth century onwards.[235]

While it has been often claimed that these qualities made the Maccabean examples particularly suitable for the defence of Holy Land, Nicholas Morton (2010) has suggested that they played an important role namely in the spread of the crusades to frontiers such as the Baltic Sea region or Iberia. The Maccabees were indeed recalled already at the arrival of crusade ideas in the Baltic Sea area, as they are mentioned in the Magdeburg charter.[236] Not insignificantly, Helmold also used a Maccabean comparison in connection to

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[230] Thus they sometimes also compared their protagonists to the Maccabees. For example, Adam calls the Slavic Prince Gottschalk, who had converted and allied with the Saxons, but killed during a Slavic revolt (1066) 'our Maccabee' (GHEP III.49, Tschan, p. 156). While the Maccabees appear already in the early medieval history writing (Dunbabin 1985), they were particularly often recalled during the church reform.

[231] Several influential crusade historians (e.g. Fulcher of Chartres, Orderic Vitalis, William of Tyre) used the analogy with the Maccabees. It also occurs in the papal bulls (such as *Audita tremendi* and *Quantum predecessores* [1144]), as well as in Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude novae militiae* (1130s), as pointed out in Morton 2010: 281. The recollection of the Maccabees in the crusade texts is discussed in Riley-Smith 2003: 92, Morton 2010, Bresc 2003, Gouguenheim 2011, Lapina 2012.

[232] The collection by Gabriela Signorini (2012) provides a good overview of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Books of Maccabees, the studies showing how the use and representation of the Maccabees transformed from prototypical martyrs into warrior heroes who were recalled during the crusades, as well as during the late medieval religious and social upheavals.

[233] As claimed in Tyerman 2007: 30–31. The Books of Maccabees also present several other ideas that were exemplary to the biblical treatment of divinely lead wars, such as the idea of a handful gaining a victory over a multitude (Morton 2010: 277).

[234] Next to this, the crusade discourse also took advantage of the ways the bible represented the Maccabees simultaneously as martyrs and warriors. See Buc 2006: 458, 468.

[235] But the Maccabees were significant also for the identity of the Templars, Hospitallers, and other orders. The Maccabean self-visioning characteristic specifically to the Teutonic Order is analysed in Fischer 2005, Lähnemann 2012.

[236] Luchitskaya 2003: 68. In the papal crusade texts, the Maccabaean examples likewise became a regular feature around the time of the Second Crusade (Phillips 2007: 60–79).

the Wendic Crusade.[237] Thus Henry's favouring of the Maccabees could even show some indication of regional continuity.[238] In the same vein, it has also been suggested that Henry's favouring of the Maccabees derives from the central position of these texts in the Saxon church schools.[239]

At the same time, it seems plausible to suggest that Henry's liking towards these heroes also relates to the social rank of the Maccabees, which was a major factor behind their popularity during the crusades. The great kings of the Israelites suited for representing the great deeds of the Christian monarchs who dominated the early medieval narratives about warfare (Dunbabin 1985: 35–36). The Maccabees, in contrast, were not of a royal descent. This made them suitable for depicting non-royal warriors who rose into the centre of symbolism during crusades (more of this below, cf. Erdmann 1977).

This could also be one of the reasons behind their rising popularity in the Baltic Sea region. Here, the writings about the pre-crusade period mainly focused on the endeavours of the elite. The spread of the crusade movement, however, places the warriors into the centre of religious warfare and symbolism. The Maccabees are easy to associate namely with this group of people and this might also partly explain their popularity in Henry's chronicle. As also argued in Articles Three (Kaljundi 2013: 307) and Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]), one of the features that distinguishes Henry from the earlier authors is that he compares with the sacred authority figures of the past not the individual members of the elite, but the crusaders and the frontier community at large.

We will bring one final example of the ways in which the developments of the expansion process left their imprint on the use of typological comparisons and this concerns the analogies with the journey from Egypt to the Promised Land. These parallels emerge especially powerfully in Helmold's chronicle, as the conquest of the Slavic territories gained success in the 1160s–1170s. In these passages, the colonization of the Slavic territories is often compared with the subjugation of Canaan.

As shown in Article Two (Kaljundi 2009), the imagery of the Promised Land is closely connected to Helmold's earlier representations of the Slavic

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[237] Helmold makes a comparison between the Maccabees and a group of Christians who, lead by priest named Gerlav, were defending the fortress of Süssel against the Slavs during the Second Crusade. Süssel was located in Wagria, and designed to defend a colony of Frisians dwelling there. The chronicler says, '... the Maccabees, did not fight more valiantly of old than the pries Gerlav and the handful of men in the stronghold of Süssel.' (HCS 64, p. 226; Tschan p. 179.)

[238] However, Henry's uses of the Maccabean comparisons can also reflect some contemporary trends. During the papacies of Innocent III and Honorius III, Maccabean imagery was employed for new purposes, namely to coerce and explain failure (Morton 2010: 288). And Henry does the same, also using the Maccabees for depicting losses (Undusk 2011: 56).

[239] As argued in Fischer 2005: 70, Undusk 2011: 54. As an example of the continuity, the Maccabees were also recalled by the later authors writing about religious warfare in the Baltic Sea region, such Peter of Dusburg (Fisher 2001: 270). Yet, this thirteenth-century work, *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* closely relates to the historiographical tradition of the Teutonic Order, and the central role that the Maccabees played in the Order's identity, as discussed above (cf. Fischer 2001, 2005).

borderlands as a vast solitude. In the chronicle, these passages are necessary for representing the missionaries as the imitators of the sufferings of saints and Christ.

At the same time, the images of wilderness are also connected to the comparisons with the Exodus and the journey to the Promised Land that occur in Helmold's and Adam's texts.[240] This biblical story, telling about a union between a people and god is highly dynamic, as well pointed out by Jan Assmann (2010). First, the Israelites escape the Egyptian slavery, then dwell in the wilderness and fight the pagans, and only then are able to settle in the Promised Land. Their status goes through an equally major change. Being first slaves and thereby lacking any social status and freedom, the Israelites ultimately – and by way of suffering – become the chosen people. This dynamics also makes the story suitable for recalling in times of crisis, as it helps to explain failure and entails a promise of future salvation.

Helmold's depiction of the Saxon conquest and colonisation of Slavia largely appears to follow these biblical models. First, the Christians have to experience wilderness and suffering, fighting the unbelievers and demons. Only thereafter Slavia is turned into a Promised Land. At the end of the chronicle, the references to Canaan gain dominance. Helmold stresses the fertility of the land particularly in connection to the colonisation of the Slavic territories.[241] He states that 'the Germans came from their lands to dwell in the spacious country, rich in grain, smiling in the fullness of pasture lands, abounding with fish and flesh and all good things'.[242]

The opposition between the fertility of the land and the barbarianism of its original inhabitants contributes to the legitimization of land taking, also echoing the biblical story about the subjugation of Canaan. Helmold stresses that the Christians came to cultivate the fertile, but scarcely agricultural lands and to fill them with villages and towns. Such 'cerealisation imagery', as Robert Bartlett has called it (1993: 133–166), supported the privileges of the new lords in these newly converted virgin territories.[243] These allusions to the Israelites arrival to the Promised Land also encouraged hostility towards the original inhabitants. This is most prominently voiced in the ending chapters of Helmold's chronicle, as his conclusion to the colonial

[240] E.g. GHEP II.14, III.63, 67, IV.1; and HCS 12, p. 68; 47, pp. 182–184; 73, p. 256. The comparison also appears in ACS II.21, pp. 63–66.

[241] However, the image of fertile, but deserted and uncultivated territories is coined already in the beginning of the chronicle, as Helmold describes Schleswig (Haddeby) and Wagria prior to the founding of the Saxon colony, saying that these 'lands were extensive and fruitful in crops but for the most time deserted (*terram spaciosam et frugibus fertilem, sed maxime desertam*) (HCS 12, p. 68; Tschan, p. 72). The flexibility of the *topos* is suggested by its easy adaptation to the Rügen Island, which is also described as 'rich in crops, fish and game' (*terra ferax frugum, piscium atque ferarum*) (HCS 108, p. 374; Tschan, p. 277).

[242] *terram spaciosam, fertilem frumento, commodam pascuarum ubertate, abundantem pisce et carne et omnibus bonis* (HCS 88, p. 312; Tschan, p. 234; cf. Exodus 3:8).

[243] This strategy was widely used also during the conquest of the New World (Greenblatt 2003: 66–70).

story combines the praise for the natural qualities of the land with the strongly negative conceptualization of its original inhabitants.[244]

Favourable natural conditions were also emphasized in the descriptions of the subjugation of Livonia, where the allusions to fertility appear to have been likewise closely connected to the parallels with the history of Israel.[245] However, in connection to Livonia this imagery is more strongly developed by Arnold of Lübeck, and not so much by Henry of Livonia.[246] The way Arnold has used the comparisons to the Promised Land for describing the very beginning of the Livonian crusade could reflect the wide spread of this colonial imagery in the Saxon-Slavic borderlands. However, as is known, Livonia never became a target of German, or other peasant colonists. And Henry, writing in Livonia, indeed does not elaborate much on the productivity of the Livonian landscapes. In contrast, in his chronicle, the metaphors of maternal and agricultural fertility relate to the growth of the church, quite typically to the contemporary Innocentian imagery.[247]

However, Henry alludes to the crossing of the Red Sea. As already touched upon above, his chronicle ends with a reference to the drowning of the Pharaoh into the Red Sea.[248] The linking of the crusades with this story is not unique, as a number of historians compared the crusaders on their march with the Israelites journeying from Egypt to the Promised Land.[249] Differently from Helmold, yet, Henry does not develop the story further and the imagery of coming to the Promised Land is missing from his text.

The stories about the Exodus and Canaan provided attractive and well adjustable schemata that have been used widely in various connections, including the colonisation of the New World. Yet, every appropriation of these analogies also is somewhat different, revealing the peculiarities of

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[244] 'Now, however, because God gave plentiful aid and victory to our duke and to the other princes, the Slavs have been everywhere crushed and driven out. A people *strong and without number* [cf. Joel 1:6] have come from the bounds of the ocean, and taken possession of the territories of the Slavs. They have built cities and have grown in riches beyond all estimation.' (HCS 89, p. 314; Tschan, pp. 235–236.)

[245] As also remarked by Bartlett 1993: 133–138, Tamm 2009a: 20–25, Tamm 2011b: 197–199.

[246] However, some other sources from the first half of the thirteenth century describe Livonia as a natural virgin landscape, being noted for its abundant forests, waterways, and fertile soil (Tamm 2009a; Tamm 2011b: 205–206). For Arnold's description of Livonia, see ACS V.30, pp. 213–214.

[247] In order to promote the growth and privileges of the Chrurch of Riga, Henry's chronicle represents a considerably elaborated imagery of agricultural and female fertility, where his church is represented as a fertile vineyard, as well as a mother. Particularly the gendered imagery is closely connected to the negative conceptualisation of the rivalling clerical institutions, the Danish and the Russian chruch, which are represented as the sterile mothers. Kaljundi 2004. The fertility imagery was also used by Innocent III in promotion of papal and ecclesiastical authority, see e.g. Rousseau 2010.

[248] HCL XXX.VI, p. 222; referring to Exodus 14:23–29.

[249] A number of examples are listed in Riley-Smith 2003: 91–92, 143. Also Arnold's account of the capture of Jerusalem (1099) during the First Crusade includes a reminder of Exodus, as Godfrey of Bouilloin recalls in his speech how God lead his people through the desert by the hands of Moses (*Deus qui per manum Moysi transduxit populum suum per desertam*) (ACS I.11, p. 28). Above, we have already touched upon the references to the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea in the chronicles of the First Crusade (relying on Riley-Smith 2003: 140), and the circulation of this imagery in the crusade writings of Pope Innocent III (Tyerman 2011: 29).

different situations. Thus the chronicles from the Baltic Sea region suggest the impact of the colonizing movement on the adaptation of the Canaanite imagery, as it is used more widely in the context of the German colonisation of the Wendic lands and not that much in connection to Livonia where almost no peasant colonists arrived.

As a whole, we can speak of a wide spread of the biblical imageries on the Baltic Sea frontier. Historians have sometimes claimed that during the crusades the analogies with Scriptural history appeared especially attractive and powerful due to the physical contact with the biblical environment in the Holy Land.[250] While this feeling of closeness was likely missing in the Baltic Sea realm, our chroniclers have nevertheless often used the same typological comparisons that have been associated with the Holy Land crusades.

Moreover, many analogies with the sacred history were well rooted in the regional history writing already before the crusades, although the spread of the crusade movement appears to have changed the chroniclers choice of biblical motifs and schemata. As the crusades both recycled old patterns and introduced new ones, we can see both change and continuity concerning the conceptualisation of conquest and conversion in the Baltic Sea area.

This appears similar to the developments that took place in Iberia. This frontier of Christendom had a long regional tradition of fighting the infidel since the eight century. In the twelfth century, the integration of the *reconquista* into the crusade movement brought along a reconfiguration of the expansion discourse, as the crusade ideologies introduced new strategies, as well as transformed the already existing schemata (e.g. O'Callaghan 2004: 24–35).

Notwithstanding of the changes, the constant presence of the Scriptural references appears to have been of paramount importance for all our chroniclers. The following subsection shall examine the ways in which our authors reflect the need to evoke the connections to the sacred authorities and the Scriptural history via other than literary media, looking at their representations of various performative practices.

Conquest, conversion, and culture on the medieval frontiers

Addressing the role of culture in the expansion of Latin Christendom, this subchapter examines how scholars have recently conceptualised the relations between power and the non-literary – e.g. material, performative, or spatial – cultural practices.

In a broad context, the interest towards the function of culture in historical processes is shaped by the spread of historical anthropology and

[250] Jonathan Riley-Smith has even argued: 'It is not hard to imagine the shock caused by a realization that passages in scripture which had always been thought to have been susceptible only to allegorical interpretation were suddenly being literally fulfilled.' (2003: 143, cf. 94.)

'cultural turn' into virtually every area of historical scholarship from the 1980s onwards.[251] These developments have resulted in two major changes, the first of which concerns defining 'culture' in an increasingly broad sense (Burke 2008: 31–34). This pluralist approach is well reflected in the definition given by Clifford Geertz who regarded culture as 'an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life' (1973: 89). Secondly, culture is also taken seriously as a player in social and political life.[252] This has enabled to offer cultural explanations for socio-political phenomena. As well argued by Natalie Zemon Davis, the adoption of anthropological methods has drawn attention to phenomena that had previously been 'defined by historians as irrational or superstitious, or as an arbitrary cover for real and serious social and political conflicts' (1981: 268).

Both of these features, the broad definition of culture and taking seriously its social role have also provided new avenues of inquiry for the study of the expansion of Latin Christendom in the Middle Ages. They enable paying greater attention to the role of cultural practices in granting authority to the conquest and conversion, and in establishing new rule, institutions, and identities in the newly Christianised areas. Already in the 1980s, Robert Bartlett pointed towards this direction, arguing that the Christianization of frontiers 'means a reorientation to outside powers and a restructuring of internal power relations, but also, for example, abandoning old religions and rituals, customs and norms, changes in the landscape and temporal rhythms', as well as 'a reorientation in so many everyday and unreflective habits and responses' (1985: 192).

Characteristic of the studies concerning the role of cultural phenomena in the expansion of Christendom into the Nordic and Baltic realm is the blurring of the interest towards material and, on the other hand, performative culture. At first, we shall briefly touch upon the research on material culture and also on space, which from the 1990s onwards has been pioneering in pointing to the involvement of cultural phenomena in the Christianisation processes. This trend appears to reflect the much broader spread of the 'spatial turn' in humanities.[253] Yet, in the contemporary Baltic

[251] The co-development of historical anthropology and new cultural history is discussed in Burke 2008: esp. 31–34. Good introductions into historical anthropology are Thomas 1963 and Davis 1981.

[252] For example, the studies by Clifford Geertz (also mentioned in the beginning of the Introduction), stressing the role of culture in power politics (esp. 1980a), were influential in introducing this approach.

[253] Strongly influenced by Henry Lefebvre's ideas concerning the social production of space, in humanities and social studies the so-called spatial turn emerged in around 1980 among the geographers and urbanists. It has also encouraged research on topics related to the constructedness of medieval space, including the representation and organisation of 'other' spaces as a way of building up social and cultural hegemony (Campbell 1988, Westrem 1991). Yet, these studies have also pointed to

and Nordic region it also relates to the growing co-operation between different disciplines, such as history, archaeology, and art history.[254]

Much of this type of research on material culture and space has been focusing on cultural exchange, as well as called to conceptualise the Christianisation not only in terms of expansion and domination, but also negotiation and adaptation. Such pronounced interest towards the agency of the periphery recalls the similar approaches visible in the studies on the medieval frontiers, discussed above. But we can also regard this pronounced interest towards material culture as one way of responding to the problem that the literary culture mostly only reflects the perspective of the Christian institutions, whereas the European 'paganism' has remained 'mute'.[255]

For example, archaeologists have sought alternative ways of studying conversion, and especially the receiving end of this process by focusing on what they have effectively labelled the Christianisation of landscape.[256] As explained by Martin Carver, 'the landscape, composed of monuments, burial grounds and settlements, is itself a document expressive of the deployment of power and organisation of ideological space' (2003b: 10).

The studies focusing on material culture and landscape have also stimulated new research about the written records. A re-reading of the depictions of space has well revealed the overall prominence of spatial representations in the records of medieval expansion (Bartlett 1993: 133–166). This indicates the increasing importance of territorial thinking, which seems to reflect the concern for establishing control over conquered, or converted lands (cf. Nagy 2005). The ways in which these kinds of studies help to pay attention to the territorialisation of the concept *Christianiatas* (Bartlett 1993: 243–268) provides an important addition to the studies concerning the so-called (inter)textual integration of the peripheries, discussed above.

Our chroniclers who wrote about the only recently subjugated and Christianized territories appear to have been equally keenly interested in space. As also argued in Article One (Kaljundi 2008), for the authors originating from the circles of the Church of Hamburg-Bremen, the

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the heterogeinity and dynamics of medieval spacial practices and concepts (e.g. Hanawalt and Kobialka 2000: x, xvi).

[254] In encouraging the co-operation of various disciplines, the research project 'Culture Clash or Compromise' (also mentioned above) was of great importance. Combining the study of material and spatial (including archaeological and architectural) material, as well as literary sources was central to the project. Blomkvist 1998b and Staecker 2004b well sum up the advantages of this type of research. It would, yet, be wrong to say that the role of culture had been entirely omitted by earlier scholars. For example, the interest towards material culture was also visible in the studies that Martin Hellmann produced about the Christianisation of the Baltic Sea realm from the 1950s onwards.

[255] As put by Robert Bartlett (1985).

[256] Carver 2003b: 10–12. The focus on the conversion of landscape has been especially prominent among the archaeologists studying the British Isles; see, for example, the volume Carver 2003a, and also Turner 2006. At around the same time, the conversion of the physical world was also brought up as a research topic in the more general context of medieval expansion in e.g. Markus 1994 and Howe 1997.

representation of space even appears to have been often more important than the depiction of peoples.[257]

Particularly in connection to Adam, the close connection between the representations of space and the strive for hegemony has been pointed out, as his geographical ambitions were closely related to his archdiocese's aspirations to establish its ecclesiastical authority over the whole North. On the one hand, this shows how carefully the medieval depictions of space must be handled. Adam's chronicle, full of geographical descriptions of much that is 'entirely different and strange to our people'[258], offers a fine reminder that the accuracy of such representations and their details should always remain in doubt.[259] On the other hand, his work still reveals the crucial importance of space in the expansion process. Notwithstanding of the truth of such representations, it seems plausible to argue that the chroniclers interest towards space still reflects the overall importance of space as a medium for manifesting power and religion.

In the Baltic Sea realm, the close combination of conquest and conversion added significance, as well as dynamics to the representation of space. Analysing the conversion of the Wendic territories, as depicted by Helmold and Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, Kurt Villads Jensen has shown well how the representations of the destruction of pagan sacred space, sanctuaries, and sacred groves go hand in hand with the depictions of the erection of new churches, monasteries, and alike. The prominence of these accounts suggests the importance of such symbolic acts for establishing new rule in the area (Jensen, K.V. 2009: esp. 145–147). In Article Two (Kaljundi 2009: 36), we have also briefly touched upon Helmold's interest towards the conversion of space, pointing to his description of a number of practices, such as the transfer of the Slavic dead to the churchyards.

From among the chroniclers examined here, Henry's representation of space has been particularly often analysed, especially with regards to the Christianisation of landscapes.[260] In comparison to Adam for example, Henry does not put much effort in connecting Livonia to the Christian geographical discourse (Tamm 2009a: 17). At the same time, his text provides many close-up representations about the conversion of landscape.

Carsten Selch Jensen has well argued for the importance of converting the physical world for Henry. He stresses the interconnectedness of military and spiritual power, arguing that Henry treats the establishing of churches, shrines, cemeteries, and other sacred places as a way of manifesting

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[257] Likewise, Volker Scior (2002) has emphasised the prominence of spatial representations in the chronicles of Adam, Helmold, and Arnold. David Fraedsdorff (2002, 2005) argues much the same for Adam and Helmold.

[258] As Adam claims about the North in general. GHEP IV.31.

[259] Henrik Janson (1998) has well demonstrated this in connection to Adam's exhaustive representation of the pagan temple in Uppsala, Sweden. For Adam's representation of this great pagan temple, as well as the sacrificial rites organised there, see GHEP IV.26–28.

[260] See Valk 2004; Jensen, C.S. 2009; for a contextualisation of Henry's depictions of the conversion of space at the backdrop of other thirteenth-century writings about Livonia, see Tamm 2009a: 25–34.

Christian power and taking over the 'pagan geography', which the chronicler first and foremost has connected with the natural world.[261] Yet Jensen also connects this focus on space to Henry's experience of living at the frontier where the Christian rule was still vulnerable, comparing Livonia to other border regions such as Iberia (Jensen, C. S. 2009: esp. 154–155).

Hence the representations of the frontier space tend to be very dynamic. The chroniclers stress both the negative and positive strategies of Christianising the subjugated territories, depicting the de-sacralisation of the pagan landscape, as well as the making of new, Christian sacred places

Next to these, the frontier historians also concerned themselves with pagan spatial practices. Henry, for example, speaks of such pagan practices as nature worship or the cremation of the dead. As also argued in Article Three (Kaljundi 2013), these depictions appear to be closely linked to his claims about the relapse of native groups and the legitimisation of the crusades as a fight against apostasy. Notwithstanding their accuracy, these representations also suggest the importance ascribed to space and spatial practices, showing that they are considered as a medium for representing power. At the same time, these depictions can also reveal a certain spatial and ritual anxiety characteristic to the frontier, as also argued in Articles Two (Kaljundi 2009) and Three (Kaljundi 2013).

As in all these representations space is closely bound to various practices, this leads us to the role of various performances in the Christianisation. Even though rituals, gestures, and other forms of ritualized behaviour have been one of the traditionally favoured subjects of medieval studies, at present there appears to be a particularly vivid interest towards studying the medieval performances. In general, this reflects the spread of the so-called performative turn (Burke 2005), which has encouraged research on various forms of symbolic and learned behaviour.

Closely related to the broad impact of historical anthropology and new cultural history[262], this turn also emphasises the centrality of various performances in the socio-political life, thereby echoing the calls to take culture seriously.[263] Similarly to cultural history, this field has likewise witnessed the pluralisation of definitions, indicated by the supplanting of the term 'ritual' with 'performance'.[264] Instead of limiting the focus to formal

[261] Jensen, C.S. 2009: 155–160. Henry's representations of 'pagan' natural landscapes have also been discussed in comparison to medieval conceptualisations of 'wilderness' in Nielsen 2011.

[262] In connection to the growing popularity of drama analogies (as first developed by the sociologist Erwin Goffmann and the anthropologist Victor Turner), Clifford Geertz has connected this interest towards performances to an even wider 'blurring' of humanities and social sciences (1980b).

[263] Thus, for example, the drama analogies, which have been of great importance for establishing the study of the social role of performances, are 'applied less in the depreciatory "mere show," masks and mummery mode that has tended to characterize its general use, and more in a constructional, genuinely dramaturgical one', as Clifford Geertz remarked already in the 1980s (1980b: 171–172).

[264] Thus this is quite similar to the increasing use of 'culture' in plural, discussed above. While already in the 1950s, Milton Singer introduced the term 'cultural performance' as a more flexible alternative to

rituals, ceremonies, and other events, which are staged and set apart from everyday life, this more flexible definition enables to analyse how less clearly framed practices can also communicate symbolic and socially significant meaning.

The study of medieval rituals has also become more flexible. As a good indication of this, more and more studies address medieval 'performances' rather than 'rituals'.[265] We will discuss the changes in the studies of medieval rituals in more detail in the next subchapter. However, here it is still important to stress that the arguments concerning the social and political role of rituals are widely spread in medieval studies.

The historical anthropologists studying the medieval period were among the first to stress this. Jacque Le Goff, for example, reflects this approach well when he argued – originally in 1964 – that 'the body provided medieval society with one of its principal means of expression. … All the essential contracts and oaths in medieval society were accompanied by gestures and were made manifest by them. […] Gestures had meaning and committed people'.[266]

The historical anthropologists focused on a wide range of topics stretching from the medieval everyday to the otherworld, yet also touched upon the role of ritual symbolism in the evolvement of royal power.[267] This approach ran parallel to a different research tradition, the study of royal and imperial ritual, which already in the interwar period stressed the active involvement of rituals in the medieval organisation of power.[268]

The conversion period in the Nordic and Baltic region can offer good material for this new interest towards medieval rituals. At that time, the region witnessed profound reorganisation of power structures, the building up of new institutions and identities, as well as the establishing of new socio-

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'ritual', at a larger scale the change started to happen in the 1970s, when first in anthropology and then in other disciplines the word 'performance' started to supplant 'ritual'. See Burke 2005: 43.

[265] A good overview of the spread of more flexible definition of medieval rituals is provided in Warner 2001: 255–256. Similar trends characterise the approach to medieval liturgy. Whereas the traditional, strick definition of liturgy limited itself to the religious practices occurring inside the church, there also has emerged a broader approach that includes the ritualism pervading all activities as part of the liturgy, showing how the most banal acts of everyday-life can take quasi-liturgical form, as suggested by Barbara Rosenwein already much earlier (1971: 133, 140). Cf. Hughes 2004: xxvii–xl.

[266] Le Goff 1992: 357. In a similar vein, Jean Claude Schmitt has highlighted the communicative and social function of medieval gestures, as well as stressed the belief in the efficacy of gestures and rituals, which was comparable to the belief in the efficacy of liturgy (1990: 14–26).

[267] Next to Le Goff, Georges Duby and Ernst Kantorowitz signficantly contributed to the latter topic.

[268] A good example of the emphasis on the social role of rituals is e.g. the volume Bierende, Bretfeld, and Oschema 2008. Since the 1990s, one of the focal points in the studies of medieval ritual has been the Ottonian *Reich*. The study of the Ottonian ritual as a representation of power, yet, also is a topic with a rich research tradition, well established by the works of Gerd Tellenbach, Carl Erdmann, Percy Ernst Schramm, and Karl Leyser. Many features of the Ottonian period itself also support the interest towards the imperial rituals, such as the competition between the nobility and the relatively weak new dynasty, or the importance that the Ottonian elites attached to status and honour (Warner 2001: 283). In addition, another influential field has been the study early medieval rituals (Koziol 1992, White 2005).

cultural norms. Potentially, various performances were actively involved in the demonstrations of new rule and religion, the confirmations of new community ties and identities, and so forth. Recently, more and more scholars have asked how to trace and analyse these forms of symbolic behaviour.

As shown above, the studies focusing on space have offered one perspective. Next to this, the social role of performances has also been discussed in connection to the cult of saints.[269] This rise of interest towards their function in the Christianisation of frontiers owes to the changes in the study of saints from the 1980s onwards, which has emphasised the close ties between sanctity and power politics, as well as the role of saints in familiarizing the Christian faith throughout Europe.[270]

Concerning the Baltic and Nordic realm, scholars have pointed to the contribution of saints in conversion and cultural assimilation, as well as in forging new authorities and identities.[271] Thereby they have stressed the role of saints in peripheries, arguing that their contribution was crucial for building up the apparatus of power in a world where authority was still disputed.[272] These studies also stress that the saints had an important role in connecting the frontiers to the centres of Latin Christianity (Geary 2006: 325, 328; cf. Mortensen 2006a), which echoes the arguments concerning the importance of the (inter)textual integration of the peripheries, discussed above.

There are, of course, significant variances. The conversion of Scandinavia depended on indigenous kings, as a result of which these lands have a large number of royal saints, whose cult contributed to the authority of local dynasties and dioceses.[273] On the other hand, Scandinavian lands lack missionary episcopal saints that characterize the Christianisation of the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea (Geary 2006: 324–325, 328). From among the chroniclers discussed here, the promotion of missionary and episcopal saints was most characteristic for Adam, who also was most

[269] While other kinds of symbolic practices have been studied less in connection to the Baltic Sea region, then concerning Scandinavia, for example, Olav Tveito has discussed the perspectives of looking at the medieval conversion process from the perspective of conversion anthropology (2005: 5–25).

[270] Most influential works behind this parading being written by Peter Brown (esp. 1981) and André Vauchez (1981). From a broader perspective, Ian Wood (2001) has finely pointed to the role of saints in 'the evangelisation of Europe' during the Early Middle Ages.

[271] The role of saints in conversion is emphasised in e.g. DuBois 2008b: 4–22, cf. Mortensen 2006b: 13. An introduction to the role of saints in the Christianisation of Scandinavia is given in the volume DuBois 2008a, and of Livonia in Mänd 2009. Concerning the Nordic realm, much of the new research has been done from the comparative angle, studying the Nordic cult of saints together with another border region that was also converted around the turn of the millennium, the Central-Eastern Europe; see e.g. Mortensen 2006a; Antonsson, Garipzanov 2010.

[272] See the volume Mortensen 2006a, cf. DuBois 2008c: 83.

[273] As described in general in DuBois 2008b: 13–19; and especially in relation to episcopal authority in DuBois 2008c: 87.

closely involved in his archdiocese's struggles for the ecclesiastical dominion.[274]

The research on saints also finely points to the interconnectedness of studying space and performances. The saints contributed to the Christianisation of landscape, as their cult was closely bound to spatial and material holiness.[275] The cult of saints and hagiography also remind us that various performances are needed for creating these sacred places.

In the context of expansion, martyrdom is the most radical example of such symbolic practices. Being a steady feature of missionary hagiography and historiography since the Early Middle Ages (Wood 2001: 29), references to martyrdom were also widely used by our chroniclers and treated as one of the key elements in providing the conquest and conversion of the new lands with the sacred authority.[276]

Adam's record of the early missionary history is presented as a series of martyrdoms. As argued in Article Two (Kaljundi 2009), martyrs also have a prominent place in Helmold's chronicle. Carsten Selch Jensen has finely shown that the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia considers martyrdom as one of the most authoritative ways of Christianising the local space. Not only does the blood shed by martyrs make the places where they are killed Christian, but the following transfer of their bodies also helps to widen the scope of Christian sacred places in Livonia. (Jensen, C.S. 2009: 162–164.)

Thus it seems plausible to suggest that the involvement of the saints' cult in the expansion movement supported the beliefs concerning the centrality of symbolic practices in Christianising new territories, as well as shaped the understanding concerning the most efficient practices. The spread of hagiographical records also played a role in this process.

The most prominent example of this would be the destruction of sacred groves and trees. Into this region, the practice was introduced in connection to St. Boniface (c. 680–754), a major figure of the evangelisation of Saxony. Thereafter, such descriptions – popularised by hagiography – continued to recur in the records of Christianisation, as also discussed above in connection to the destruction of pagan landscapes.[277]

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[274] Immediately after the mentioning of the peace truce between the Franks and the Saxons, the focus of Adam's chronicle is turned to the saintly missionaries: 'And now, girded to write about spiritual triumphs over men's souls, we shall begin as follows about the preachers who brought the fiercest peoples of Germany to the divine religion.' (*Nunc autem spiritales animarum triumphos ad scribendum succincti, praedicatoribus, de his qui ferocissimos Germaniae populos ad divinam religionem perduxerint, tale sumamus exordium.*) (GHEP I.10.) In the next chapters, as said, missionary bishops are at the centre of Adam's representation of the Christianisation of Saxony, including St. Willehad and Willibrord.

[275] Features such as relics, but also patronage, as well as the installation of various objects in saints' honour connect them to material holiness (DuBois 2008b: 5).

[276] Drawing on Scandinavian examples, Thomas DuBois has recently pointed to the contribution of saints to the domestication of space (2008c: 77–84).

[277] For instance, Helmold describes a missionary expedition to Wagria (1156) where in the midst of woods a heathen temple is found (HCS 84). During the conquest of Rügen, the Danish king Valdemar I 'had that most ancient image of Svantowit ... brought out and ordered a rope to be fastened around its

Often, of course, it is most difficult to tell whether such representations reflect concrete episodes, echo a general state of affairs, or are merely literary *topoi* (Wood 2001: 30). This question is particularly relevant in connection to Adam and Helmold whose works were remarkably strongly influenced by saints' lives. Yet, even if the trustworthiness of their representations is difficult to judge, these texts still reflect a belief in the transformative power of symbolic behaviour.

Above, we have argued that the focus of our chroniclers moves from the members of the ecclesiastical elite to the frontier clergy. A similar change occurs in connection to saintly behaviour. A comparison of these texts shows that while at first the saint-like transformative rituals – such as martyrdoms – are connected to the elites, then in Helmold's and Henry's texts the frontier clerics gain a leading role in such performances.

The mission to Livonia, however, did not produce any local saints. This is likely related not only to the relative youth, or weakness of the Church of Riga, but also to imposing a stronger papal control over the canonisation process. Instead, Henry promotes the Virgin Mary. He mentions her around 40 times in the chronicle (Arbusow 1951: 61–65), and claims that she is the patroness of the Church of Riga and Livonia.[278]

Being 'the land of Mary' would have made these territories indeed a fine destination for the crusaders.[279] However, as there are only few contemporary records from the thirteenth century confirming these ideas, it is difficult to determine exactly how widely the acknowledging of Livonia as the land of god's mother was established.[280] One of the most significant texts that associate Livonia with Mary is the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, arguing that in 1186 'the venerable Meinhard founded the episcopal see in

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neck. Then he commanded that it be dragged throught the midst of the army in the sight of the Slavs and that it be hacked to pieces and cast into fire' (HCS 108).

[278] Henry's devotion to Mary has caught the interest of many scholars (e.g. Arbusow 1951: 64–70, Mänd 2009: 194–195, Tamm 2013: 16–18), yet there are very little studies dedicated specifally to this topic (e.g. Kivimäe 2014).

[279] One of the central episodes in Henry's Mariology is a scene from the Fourth Lateran council, which also explains the usability of Mary's figure for the young Livonian church. Here, bishop Albert addresses Pope Innocent III, saying 'as you have not ceased to cherish the Holy Land of Jerusalem, the country of the Son /--/ so also you ought not abandon Livonia, the land of the Mother /--/. For the Son loves His Mother and, as He would not care to lose His own land, so, too, He would not care to endanger His Mother's land.' The pope replies, 'We shall always be careful to help with paternal solicitude of our zeal the land of the Mother even as the land of the Son.' (HCL XIX.7, p. 132; Brundage, p. 152.) This statement brings together many crucial ideas, such as the wish to establish a clear connection between the Holy Land and Livonia. As this argument is based on Mary's closeness to her son, it also takes advantage of one of the key factors of Mary's attraction, which was the intimacy that linked her to the redemption promised by her son and thus made her a particularly efficient intercessor (Rubin 2009: 131–132).

[280] The claim that Livonia was dedicated specifically to Mary occurs in some thirteenth-century documents. In addition, there is evidence about pilgrimages to Riga, the majority of which date to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. From Lübeck and Lödös (Sweden) there have been found thirteenth-century Livonian pilgrim badges that also associated the land with Mary, depicting the Virgin and the Child, and containing the text: *Signum S. Marie in Livonia remissionis peccatorum*. See Lev□ns 2001: esp. 74.

Livonia that was placed under the patronage of Mary, Blessed Mother of God, in a place that was called Riga.'[281] While there are also other documents that call Livonia Mary's land, the promotion of Mary as the patroness of Livonia at least did not find support from Rome.[282]

Mary seems to have figured prominently among the patrons of the newly erected churches all over Livonia, including the Cathedral of Riga.[283] Anu Mänd well points out that the two Livonian fortresses that are known to have been dedicated to Mary were erected near the border between Livonian and Russian territories, where her protection was perhaps most needed.[284]

In Henry's chronicle, many of the Mariological practices are also closely linked to the transformation of space.[285] Henry represents a number of practices in connection to the Blessed Virgin, describing how the crusaders marched under her banner, or sang prayers of thanksgiving to her after the campaigns. These practices are often closely linked to the manifestation of Christian rule over the newly conquered and converted territories. A good example of this is Henry's emphasis on raising the banner of Virgin Mary on top of defeated pagan strongholds. Mary also figures prominently in the calendar of crusade campaigns, as many important expeditions against the Estonians took place around the Assumption on August 15.[286] This was

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[281] *Anno igitur verbi incarnati 1186 fundata est sedes episcopalis in Livonia a venerabili viro Meinnardo, intitulata patrocinio beate Dei genitricis Marie, in loco qui Riga dicitur*. ACS V.30, p. 213; translation into English taken from Tamm 2013: 17.

[282] As pointed out by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, the letters of Innocent III and Honorius III do not make any references to the special connection between the Virgin and Riga (2007: 99–131). In order to explaining the papal indifference, Christopher Tyerman has argued that the papacy wished to avoid the elevation of Livonia to a somewhat distinctive status, not to speak of making it comparable to Jerusalem (2011: 31–33).

[283] Concerning the Cathedral of Riga, Henry's chronicle does not fail to mention this, saying that in 1201/1202 Bishop Albert of Riga 'dedicated the episcopal cathedral with all of Livonia to Mary, the Blessed Mother of God' (HCL VI.3, p. 17; Brundage, p. 40). As also pointed out by several scholars, the earliest surviving Livonian charter also names Mary, confirming the annexation of Jersika (1209) as a donation to the church of the Virgin Mary. LUB 1/1, no. 15; cf. HCL XIII .4, p. 71. Also altars, chapels, or statues of the Virgin existed in every larger church in Riga and Tallinn, and possibly also in other towns (Mänd 2009: 196). The role of Mary as the patron saint of Livonian churches is analysed in Mänd 2009: 194–199. In connection to Riga, her role is analysed in Bruiningk 1904: 327–334.

[284] These two fortresses were Marienburg (in Aluksne in present day Latvia); and the castle of Our Beloved Lady, which became known as Neuhausen and the ruins of which are located in today's Vastseliina in Estonia. Mänd 2009: 197.

[285] As also pointed out in Jensen, C.S. 2009: 164–168.

[286] Including the campaigns to to Harjumaa in Northern Estonia (1216) (HCL XX.2, p. 135), to Harjumaa and Rävala (1218) (HCL XXII.2, p. 148). Henry also connects this feast to the conquest of crucial strongholds, such as Viljandi in 1223 (HCL XXVII.2, p. 195) and Tartu in 1224. In the latter case, Henry also points to the importance of Assumption in the local calendar, saying that crusade army 'came to the fort on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. On that very same day in the previous year the fort of Fellin had been taken. (HCL XXVIII.5, p. 202; Brundage, pp. 222–223). Viljandi became one of the most important castles of the Sword Brethern (cf. HCL XXVIII.9, p. 206); Tartu, in turn, was turned into an episcopal see, while the conquest of Tartu secured the dominion of the Rigans over all of Estonian mainland. The Assumption was a favourable time for military expeditons also due to offering warm weather, and allowing the harvest to be collected before departure.

Mary's great feast, designed to raise her above other saints (Rubin 2009: 139). Also the anniversary of the dedication of the Cathedral of Riga was on the Assumption (Mänd 2009: 196; Bruiningk 1904: 226, 327).

This reflects the growing prominence of the cult of the Virgin Mary throughout Latin Christendom. Yet, as the rise of her popularity coincided with the expansion of Europe, Mary's cult was widely appropriated at the frontiers under conquest, where she was especially popular as a patron of new churches (Rubin 2009: 121–157). Iberia has often been brought as an example of a 'Mariological frontier', as there the churches were mainly dedicated to Mary.[287] Next to Spain, the cult of Mary played a role in the crusades to Prussia (Dygo 1989; Eimer, Gierlich and Müller 2009). As Prussia was also claimed to have been dedicated to Mary, this once more suggests her importance for the subjugation of the borderlands of Christianity (Skwierczynsky 2012). When looking at the background of the earlier authors writing about the Saxon and Slavic borderlands, we can also see some regional continuity in Henry's devotion to Mary. For example, Mary was the patron of the monastery of Segeberg – where Helmold and likely also Henry were educated – as well as of Arnold's monastery in Lübeck.[288]

One of the explanations to Mary's prominence in the Prussian crusades also lies in the driving force of these campaigns, the Teutonic Order. She was their patron and the veneration of the Virgin was widespread in the Order.[289] From the 1230s onwards, when the Sword Brethern had joined the Order, the Teutonic *Marienverehrung* also started to influence the Livonian Mariology.[290] This also meant that the two major political rivals in medieval Livonia, the Church of Riga and the Teutonic Order, shared the same patron saint (Mänd 2009: 196). The devotion to the Virgin also characterised the other major institution that was closely involved in the Livonian crusades, the Cistercians, who had been active in these lands from the turn of the twelth and thirteenth centuries onwards.[291]

In his chronicle, Arnold also steadily pays special attention to the Virgin. Yet, what differentiates Henry is the close association between violence and

[287] As described in MacKay 1989: 230–232, 238; Rubin 2009: 123. Mary's role in the Iberian wars is emphasised in Mackay 1989: 230; O'Callaghan 2004: 188, 191–193; as well as Remensnyder 2005, 2007. Also earlier, scholars have drawn attention to the similarities between the Iberian, and Livonian dedication to the cult of Mary, e.g. in Jensen, C.S. 2009: 166–167, Tamm 2013: 18.

[288] As pointed out in Tyerman 2011: 32–33. The other patron of Arnold's monastery was St. John.

[289] Arnold 2009. The Virgin and the Child were depicted on the banner of the Livonian Master of the Order (Mänd 2009: 196).

[290] An indication to this can be found in the Order's oldest historical narrative about Livonia, the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (1290s), as there Mary figures prominently; as also remarked in Tamm 2013: 18.

[291] The Cistercian contribution to the early phase of mission and crusading in Livonia is analysed in Schmidt 1941: 20–32. The Cistercian writings also provide alternative evidence about the spread of ideas concering the association between Mary and Livonia, as in his homilies about the birth and childhood of Christ (1225) Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–1240) presented a story about Livonia that also claims the land being dedicated to the Blessed Virgin (Tamm 2009a: 363–364, 2013: 17–18).

the Mother of God, as well as the emphasis on her help in battle.[292] While the combination of maternal and violent characteristics in Henry's Mariological imagery has also caused amazement (e.g. Arbusow 1951: 61–65), it can be linked with several contemporary tendencies.

The idea of saintly intervention was characteristic to the crusades in general. At first the idea of religious warfare was closely connected to the Old Testament heroes, but from the eleventh century onwards, saints played an increasingly prominent role and a special patronage of war began to be ascribed to them (Erdmann 1977: 269–305, cf. 87–90).

The appearance of saints' banners and their adaptation by the church around the year 1000 is the earliest indication of this tendency, which also contributed to the emergence of the crusade idea (Erdmann 1977: 35–56; cf. 1933/1934). One of the earliest examples of Mary's association with warfare can be found from the Iberian sources, as in 1003 she is claimed to have announced the victory of Christians after a battle (Erdmann 1977: 99–100). During the Iberian crusades, sources also emphasise Mary's aid in battle, show crusaders to call for her help and to carry her banner (O'Callaghan 2004: 188, 191–193).

Since the First Crusade, Mary features prominently in crusade writings.[293] The First Crusade, moreover, was originally planned to depart at the Assumption, just like some of the later Livonian campaigns (Tyerman 2011: 32). This has given reason to argue that already in the late eleventh century Mary 'was beginning her association with crusades and with violence, which was to be a particular characteristic of devotion to her in the central Middle Ages' (Riley-Smith 2003: 104).

During the Livonian crusades, the appropriation of Mary in the crusade contexts was even more widespread due to her still increasing popularity.[294] Henry's massive references to Mary also reflect this tendency. Another contemporary trend that seems to have influenced his chronicle concerns the close combination of the veneration of Mary and the persecution of the 'other'[295].

The development of the crusades at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also brought along other transformations in the repertoire of symbolic practices. These changes did not leave the ritualisation of the Christian expansion untouched. However, crusade rituals have not been

[292] The liturgical, or quasi-liturgical references to Mary are analysed in Arbusow 1951: 61–65.

[293] According to the chroniclers, the company of Adhémar of Le Puy, one of the leading figures of the enterprise, carried her banner, and during the expedition, she is reported to have appeared three times (Riley-Smith 2003: 103–104).

[294] Mary's still growing popularity also affected the crusades. In the crusade literature from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Holy Land is often associated with Mary (Tamm 2013: 17, footnote 87). From among the influential contemporary sources, the Virgin figured prominently in the sermons of Pope Innocent III (Rousseau 2010: 105–110), which likewise combined visions of maternal care with visions of strong ecclesiastical authority.

[295] As put by Miri Rubin, the veneration of Mary was linked to the persecution, instruction and correction of those who would not admit the truth (2009: 161–168).

studied much either in connection to the Baltic or the Nordic region, or in general. Although the crusades provide very numerous examples about the ritualisation of warfare and scholars usually admit that rituals contributed to the success of crusade campaigns, many of them still tend to view such performances as 'theatre' and 'staging'.[296]

Yet, while these rituals have not been integrated into the mainstream of crusade studies[297], there has emerged considerable research about some concrete symbolic practices. Among them, taking the cross, the most emblematic rite of the whole enterprise has gained the most attention.[298] Next to this, there has also emerged an interest towards the role of liturgy in the crusades, echoing well the general trends prevalent in the studies of medieval liturgy, which more and more often also focus on its social role.[299]

In the beginning of this Introduction, we argued that the study of culture offers relevant perspectives for analysing war and power politics. In connection to the crusades, Carl Erdmann's studies have especially finely pointed to the ways symbols, liturgies, and rituals can be used for studying war.[300] In contrast to the understanding that rituals are something external, when compared to the real facts of warfare, his studies aimed to show that rituals played an active role in the emergence of the crusades. Erdmann's *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (1935) offers fine proof for his conviction that liturgical texts convey the attitudes of the church toward war.[301] Above, we already touched upon his claims that the defensive wars against the pagan invasions, as well as the early expansion of Latin

[296] For example, Christopher Tyerman remarks that 'the political, material and military pillars of victory fail adequately to describe the structure of the First Crusade or alone explain its success', as to a great extent these were the 'visions, relics, liturgical ceremonies and the theatre of communal penitence binding the army together' (2007: 163). Elsewhere, he also points to 'the centrality of relics, liturgy and penance in fixing the cohesion of the army of God' (Tyerman 2007: 146). However, while his study pays considerable attention to 'new ritualistic forms', 'ceremonies', or 'social rituals', at the same time, still, he also speaks of them as 'religious theatre' (Tyerman 2007: 144–145; 163).

[297] Although it seems too extreme to argue, as Amnon Linder does, that 'the modern historiography of the crusades completely ignores liturgy' (2003: xvii).

[298] Most significant contributions including Brundage 1966, Pennington 1974, Markowski 1984, and Constable 2008a.

[299] These studies claim that in the Middle Ages liturgy functioned both as a social unifier and an instrument of power. They thus emphasise the connections between liturgy and institutions, as well as the contribution of liturgy in supporting clerical and royal power and ideologies. (Palazzo 2000: 13–14, 194–212.)

[300] Thereby Erdmann has had a considerable influence on the emergence of the new crusade studies, as these were also interested in the spiritual aspects of crusading (e.g. Riley-Smith 2003: 1). Nevertheless, one of Erdmann's main arguments according to which Urban's main preoccupation was with the aid to the Greeks and not with the liberation of Jerusalem has also received serious criticism (Mayer 1965; Cowdrey 1970; Riley-Smith 2003: 21–22, 108). His scholarly legacy is discussed in more detail in Baldwin 1977.

[301] As phrased in Erdmann 1977: 28. Erdmann's study is principally concerned with the development of the concept of holy war and the questions how the church, originally hostile to war, ultimately moved to the promotion of war and succeeded in enlisting the support of the nobility. Next to liturgies (see also Erdmann 1932), he also studied the role of other symbols in war, such as banners (Erdmann 1933/1934).

Christendom had a serious impact on the development of the crusade idea. Largely, his arguments were based on the liturgical material.

For examining the changes in the ritualisation of warfare around the Baltic Sea, Erdmann's other key argument is equally crucial. This claim likewise relies on the transformation of liturgy. He argues that the emergence of the crusades was supported by the rise of the warrior into the centre of symbolic practices.[302] Where in an earlier age a prayer for times of war was identical to a prayer for the state and its ruler, in the tenth century, the reference to the king was replaced by a reference to the warriors.[303] In such prayers, the knight and the army became the instrument of divine action. This is most explicit in a 'prayer for warriors' (*oratio super militantes*) from the tenth century that speaks of the knights in the same way that older prayers spoke of the king.[304]

Forms, however, seldom travel without transmitting at least some of their content. The transmission of royal liturgies transferred to knights the ethical conceptions that the church had formerly applied to the ruler. By becoming the subject of these rituals, the warrior obtained a special status, a position between clergy and people, which had been previously held by the king. This reflects a much broader change, which is the emergence of an understanding that not only the king, but also the army can be the instrument of divine action. For Erdmann, this transfer was the decisive factor in the development of crusade idea, as he argued that with this step the church bridged the gap that separated it from war and incorporated the military class within its activities (1977: 85–86).

In the texts examined here, we see such valorisation of the knights and the army in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, which was produced at the high point of the crusades. Similarly to the crusade institution and ideology, which became more unified towards the end of the twelfth century – the starting point of the Livonian campaigns –, the crusade liturgies also became more coherent, centrally organised and widespread around the same time.[305]

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[302] A little later, similar claim was made by Étienne Delaruelle (1941–1954) who also largely based his study on liturgical texts.

[303] This argument Erdmann greatly based on the transformation of the mass prayers in the Sacramentary, which were very conservatively handled (see 1977: 28–29). In the tenth century, a new type of prayer also appeared among the benedictions, as now blessings were applied directly to the knight and the army. The early medieval liturgies of war are also discussed in McCormick 1984, 1987, cf. 1992.

[304] Likewise, the liturgical blessing of the knight was drawn verbatim from an old votive mass for the king (Erdmann 1977: 81–85). An equally interesting transfer takes place with the tendency of replacing the blessing of an object (the sword) with an actual consecration of a person (the knight). Also this liturgy relates to royal rituals, as the wording of the benediction for the sword derives from prayers for royal coronation (*Ibid.*: 86–87, cf. 83–85).

[305] In a full sense, we can speak about the centralization of crusade liturgies only from the fourteenth century onwards, when the regulations for crusade masses and prayers appear in connection to the papal crusade plans for the recovery of the Holy Land and Pope Clement V (r. 1305–1314) 'practically converted all Masses into Holy Land Masses, mobilizing liturgy in the cause of the crusade to a degree unknown before' (Linder 2003: 120). Liturgies in the support of Holy Land crusades have also been discussed in connection to the Baltic Sea region. In his study about the later Danish crusades, Janus

To some extent, this development appears to run parallel to the increasing political involvement of liturgy in the twelfth century in general.[306]

The Livonian campaigns coincided with one of the most crucial moments in the progress of the crusade rituals, as more specific crusade liturgies started to develop especially after the defeat at Hattin (1187), when the papal curia introduced intercessory liturgies to be performed throughout Christendom in support of the crusades.[307] Another example of this growing coherence relates to taking the cross. Even though the symbolism of the cross was used ever since the council of Clermont (1095), the ritual for taking the cross became more unified only after the institutional organization of the crusade movement in the late twelfth century.[308]

Similar developments are also noticeable in the chronicles examined here, as in these texts the spread of a more coherent crusade ritual coincides with the spread of the crusades in the Baltic Sea region. In connection to the Second Crusade, Helmold only briefly mentions the most emblematic ritual, which is taking the cross.[309] Arnold of Lübeck's condensed account of the Livonian crusade of 1199 shows more interest towards ritualisation. Thus, next to taking the cross, he also remarks that the crusaders were accompanied by clerics who encouraged them.[310]

In Henry's chronicle, references to rituals and liturgy are almost omnipresent, as examined in more detail in Article Three (Kaljundi 2013). Henry's representation of the Livonian campaigns echoes well the argument Amon Linder has made concerning the centrality of symbolic practices throughout the entire history of the crusades. 'Liturgy was one of the main

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Møller Jensen remarks that although the Scandinavian liturgical material still needs to be analysed from the crusading perspective, even a brief look at them enables to argue that from the fifteenth century onwards, the idea of crusade was constantly present in the communities through liturgy and worship (2007: 113–121, 124–127).

306 While liturgy was part of politics already at the time of the Carolingians and Ottonians, from the twelfth century onwards it gains a much more prominent role in political and ideological struggles, and it also relates closely to the expansion of Latin Christendom (Palazzo 2000: 215, cf. 194).

307 As various liturgical measures bearing on the liberation of Jerusalem and the Holy Land came into being namely during the first decade after this event, liturgical practices appear to have functioned as a mean to react to crisis (Linder 2003: 1). Tellingly, from among the eight votive Masses in support of the Holy Land, four were performed immediately after Hattin. Thus votive Masses for the Holy Land emerged in the same way that communal and individual crises induced votive Masses for peace, for those at sea, and the like. (Linder 2003: 97–98.) The Holy Land Mass also is an example of such intercessory uses of liturgy, inspired by the belief that the merits generated in the Eucharistic service can be directed to specific aims (Linder 2003: 97–173).

308 Constable 2008a: 63, cf. Markowski 1984. The growing importance of taking the cross is visible also from the way the ritual lent a name for crusaders, as from the end of the twelfth century onwards it became more common to call them *crucesignati* (or to use the equivalents of the term in the vernaculars).

309 As he says of the army heading to the Holy Land: 'They were signed with the sign of the cross on their garments and arms.' (HCS 59, Tschan, p. 172.)

310 *Cuius predicationis instantia nonnulli sublimes et nobiles signaculo sancte crucis insigniti, ad deprimendas gentilium vires, vel potius ad cultum Christi perdomandas, iter peregrinationis arripiunt. Nec defuerunt sacerdotes et literati, suis exhortationibus eos confortantes et ad terram promissionis felici perserverantia eos peringere promittentes.* (ACS V.30, p. 214.)

forms of action that Europe embraced in its endeavour to liberate the Holy Land. Rites articulated the collective undertaking of thinking about the idea of Jerusalem and experiencing it emotionally. Liturgy inspired Christianity to raise armies. … it exhorted crusaders to enter battle, sang their victories, and lamented their defeats. Rites were also effective channels of information and propaganda.'[311]

A good addition to this concerning especially the ritualisation of warfare is given in Joseph F. O'Callaghan's study of the Iberian crusades, where he claims that: 'every effort was made to surround the military enterprise with liturgical rituals intended to encourage and to justify the actions to be undertaken. Not only did the preachers assure the troops that God was on their side, aiding and protecting them, but they also assured them that they were taking part in a just war, pleasing to God. At times preachers also proclaimed the remission of sins given to crusaders. Before setting off to war, men, in expectation of death, made their wills and undoubtedly said their private prayers. Communal prayers and hymns marked the departure of the army. Before engaging the enemy, soldiers confessed their sins and received absolution from the priests who celebrated mass for them and offered them the Eucharist. During the battle they cried out to God and the saints for help … Once victory was gained hymns of joy and celebration were sung, while the gruesome task of burying the dead was carried out.' (O'Callaghan 2004: 207–208.)

Already starting a crusade campaign presupposed certain symbolic practices and the confirmation of the expedition by spiritual authorities. Henry's chronicle includes traces of crusade sermons, and possibly also of crusade proclamations. In addition, the author highlights taking the cross and granting the indulgence, which also function as signs of papal support. (See Article Three [Kaljundi 2013].)

A good example of the complexity of such representations occurs in connection to the recruitment of the new crusaders in 1210. 'The bishop [Albert], indeed, was saddened greatly by continual labors and the death of his men, but at length again took refuge in the Lord and … went back to Germany. There he complained to good and God-fearing men of his losses and sought, through highways and byways, through cities and forts [cf. Canticus 3:2], those who would set themselves up as a wall for the house of the Lord [cf. Ezekiel 13:5] and take on the sign of the cross in order to go by sea to Livonia for the consolation of the few who remained there.'[312]

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[311] Linder 2003: xv. In a similar vein, Jonathan Riley-Smith has brought a number of good examples about the close intertwining of symbolic practices and warfare during the First Crusade. Before important engagements, masses were multiplied; the crusaders made confession and took communion after crossing the Bosporus and before every military action; before important battles they also expected solemn blessings; and during the fighting, the main task of churchmen was to pray. (2003: 83–86.)

[312] HCL XIV.4, p. 74; Brundage, p. 96.

The wall-metaphor is also used elsewhere in the chronicle.[313] Quite often, it is combined with the *defensio*-argument, as in the quotation above. The symbolics related to wall building, however, extend beyond the metaphorical level. This is suggested by a passage where building up the city walls of Riga is represented as one of the ways the pilgrims can serve god in Livonia.[314] As such, it is a good example how the ritualisation of the crusades meant not only the invention of new rituals, or the modification of the old ones, but also giving new symbolic meaning to familiar activities.

Throughout the Livonian campaign, Henry represents symbolic practices to contribute to the sacralisation of warfare and mission. He describes various processions that were aimed at asking for divine aid in battle. Among these, he pays special attention to practices performed in a special place of 'prayers and counsel', where the different groups of the army, including the neophyte Livs and Lettgallians, were gathered while on their way to the expeditions against the Estonians.[315] The text bears witness to the strategic importance of such meetings[316], but also suggests their importance for the religious preparations for war. Even though Henry mostly does not include many liturgical details, he steadily mentions the celebration of 'masses', 'prayer', and 'prayer and counsel'.[317] Furthermore, in connection to these gatherings Henry often also uses a possible reference to the assembly of the

[313] For example, it occurs in connection to crusade preaching in 1218. 'The venerable Albert of the Livonian church went again to collect pilgrims. He preached to them the remission of sins and sent them to Livonia that they might stand up for the house of the Lord on the day of battle [cf. Ezekiel 13:5] and might defend the new church from the attack of the pagans.' (HCL XXII.1, p. 147; Brundage, p. 166.) Henry has used the metaphor while representing the crusaders (*murum se pro domo Domini ponentes/ponere*, cf. Ezekiel 13:5) (HCL XI.5, p. 52; XI.9, p. 57), as well as the Sword Brethren (*se murum pro domo Domini die ac nocte ponerent*, cf. Ezekiel 13:5) (HCL XI.3, p. 49).

[314] The pilgrims of this same year [1209] were always ready to obey in the matter of heightening the walls and in other things of service to God.' (HCL XIII.3, p. 68; Brundage, p. 90.) The building of the walls of Riga is described also in HCL XI.1, p. 48; and XII.1, p. 58.

[315] HCL XXI.2, p. 142–43; XXII.2, p. 148; XXVII.2, p. 195. Merely an 'assembly place' is mentioned in relation to the assembling of the Lettgallians, the crusaders and Sword Brethren during a campaign to Saccala in 1211, yet, this time Henry uses an Estonian word, *maja* ('house') for designating it, speaking of 'their *maja*, that is, their assembly place' (HCL XV.7, p. 94; Brundage, p. 115). In relation to a campaign to Estonia in 1215, the chronicle mentions the assembling of the army (*collectio exercitus*) at the mouth of the Gauja River (HCL XVIII.5, p. 117). More elaborated representations of such assemblies are given in HCL XX.2, p. 135–136; XXIII.7, pp. 160–161. In the chronicle, these places are especially often mentioned in relation to raids to Sakala and Viljandi. The gathering point could have been at Evele (Ger. Wohlfahrt), located about 20 km northeast from Valmiera. For a comparison of the routes described by Henry and archaeological evidence see Valk and Lang 2011.

[316] Thus Henry often provides details about the tactical and practical matters, as well as lists the leaders of the campaigns and different groups participating. A good example of this is Henry's representation of a gathering that was held in Sakala before the campaign to Rävala and Harjumaa in Northern Estonia (1218). 'The Rigans assembled with the Livonians and the Letts. Henry Borewin and Master Volquin with his Brothers went with them and they came near Saccalia at the place where the army was accustomed to pray and take counsel (*ubi locus orationis et colloquiorum exercitus esse solet*) [cf. I Maccabees 3:46]. Count Albert ordered a bridge to be made there and there they decided that they were going to despoil the province of Reval.' (HCL XXII.2, p. 148; Brundage, pp. 167.)

[317] The celebration of 'masses' is mentioned in HCL XXI.2, pp. 142–43, XXX.3, pp. 216–7; of 'prayer' in HCL XII.2, p. 148; of 'prayer and counsel' in HCL XXVII.2, p. 195, XXVIII.5, p. 202.

army of Israel under the leadership of Judas Maccabeus and this further underlines the symbolic importance of such meetings.[318]

A typical example of such preparations would be the depiction of a campaign that took place in 1217, when an army of crusaders, Livs, Lettgallians, and the Sword Brethren went to siege Viljandi (Ger. Fellin). All of these came near Sakala (Southern Estonia), 'where there is a place for the army's prayers and discussion'.[319] In connection to the gathering, the chronicle covers in detail the leading participants, as well as their plans for the following campaign. However, when the army reaches Viljandi and sets out to meet the Estonian enemy, they are represented to celebrate Masses and to start their fight on a saint's day: 'at evening they came near the fort of Fellin, where they rested for the night. After celebrating solemn Masses there, they set out on the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle [21 September] to meet the enemy.'[320]

This illustrates well that claim that the crusades were a spiritually intensive time for all the participants, as the masses were said regularly and multiplied before important engagements (Riley-Smith 2003: 82–83). Relying on the chroniclers of the First Crusade, Jonathan Riley-Smith has claimed that the army 'was constantly at public prayer: every procession, every major event, every departure of a new stage of the march was marked by intercessions.' (2003: 83). He adds, 'The crusade struck contemporaries … as being like a military monastery on the move, constantly at prayer: Raymond of Aguilers twice compared the army in battle order to a church procession.' (Riley-Smith 2003: 84.)

The ritualisation of warfare was also connected to quasi-strategic considerations, as Joseph F. O'Callaghan has argued in connection to the *Reconquista*, saying that 'the religious rituals or liturgy associated with the war … were equally as important as considerations of strategy'.[321] Such confidence in the efficacy of symbolic practices is entailed in the very nature of liturgy, which is almost entirely geared towards intercession.[322]

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[318] 'And they assembled together, and came to Maspha over against Jerusalem: for in Maspha was a place of prayer heretofore in Israel.' (1 Maccabees 3:46.)

[319] *ubi locus est orationis et colloquiorum exercitus* (HCL XXI.2, p. 142; Brundage, p. 162).

[320] *solempniis ibidem celebratis in die Mathei apostoli processerunt obviam inimicis* (HCL XXI.2, pp. 142–43; Brundage, p. 162). Rituals are also described in connection to the second siege of Viljandi (1223). Even though on this occasion Henry equally carefully lists the participants, as well as stresses their obedience to the bishop, he also points to the celebration of prayer, which must have been of grand scale, considering the number of participants (notwithstanding the likely exaggerations). 'Eight thousand of them came to the place for prayer and counsel [cf. 1 Maccabees 3:46]. After celebrating the solemnities of prayer and counsel (*celebratis orationum et colloquiorum solempniis*), they hurried into Esthonia, to the fort of Fellin, which had been taken by the Germans ten years before and had been subjected to Christianity.' (HCL XXVII.2, p. 195; Brundage, pp. 214–215.)

[321] O'Callaghan 2004: 177. For his analysis of what has been preserved of Masses and prayers designed for reciting in time of war see O'Callaghan 2004: 177–208.

[322] Furthermore, one could argue that the idea of battle is entailed in the very concept and practice of liturgy. In the Cluniac version, for example, liturgy – directed towards the commemoration of the dead – is also understood as a kind of battle: intercession was a weapon to fight the devil and help God to win over the souls of men (Rosenwein 1971: 140–145).

Highlighting the link between the intercessory uses of liturgy and the belief in the providential character of crusading, O'Callaghan claims that if the outcome of battle was believed to depend on divine will, success in organizing religious practices must have gained a serious strategic meaning (2004: 201).

As pointed out above, the ritualisation of warfare was emblematic already to the First Crusade. Henry's chronicle, however, also bears witness to contemporary changes in crusade spirituality, when pope Innocent III developed a more radical interpretation of the crusades as *imitatio Christi*.[323] 'As concerns the role of the individual participant crusading was primarily seen in devotional terms', argues Thomas Maier. 'In Innocent's definition and representation, the crusading experience was in essence one associating with Christ and imitating his suffering on the cross.' (1999: 360.) This also involved the redemptive element that was expressed in the crusader's act of penitence and embodied in the indulgence (*Ibid.*: 359). As penitents, the crusaders moved from repentance to the moment of salvation, both of which were symbolized by the cross. In the beginning, they appear as sinners striving to be saved by Christ, in the middle they become supplicants of Christ, and at the end, reaffirm their reconciliation with Christ.

Henry also represents crusading as a penitential ritual, where the crusaders move from suffering to joy, as shown in Article Three (Kaljundi 2013). Already the depiction of the crusaders maritime travel to Livonia emphasises their will to suffer and face tribulations in the name of God. In addition, Henry stresses the tribulations that the crusaders had to suffer while staying and fighting in Livonia. The ending of individual campaigns, as well as the Livonian crusade as a whole is marked with great joy.

Next to this, Henry's chronicle relates to another contemporary development of crusade theory and practice. This relates to the wish to involve the whole Christian community into the crusades, which Thomas Maier has explained with Innocent III's 'vision of a Christian society organized for the *negotium Crucis*' (1999: 352; cf. 354–355). Other materials also suggest the spread of new liturgical practices at the home front, which were directed towards influencing the public morale and geared towards intercession, transmitting the supplication of the faithful before God.[324] The papacy also encouraged the clergy to institute special prayers and preach the crusades, as well as introduced various penitential measures. This made crusading a part of the religious life of even those Europeans who themselves did not participate in the campaigns.

[323] In turn, we can contextualise this at the backdrop of the increasing popularity of the imitation of Christ in the thirteenth century, which has been well analysed in Constable 1995: 198–225.

[324] The emergence of new intercessory liturgies, processions and prayers in the early thirteenth century is discussed in Linder 2003: 37–44, Maier 1997: 631–634, Maier 1999: 352. These also included the new Holy Land Clamor, which was to be said daily during the Mass and which was introduced by Innocent III in his bull *Quia maior* (1213) (Linder 2003: 37–44).

Henry also depicts various ceremonies that were organized at the home front. While these reflect well a belief in the efficacy of liturgy from distance, they also tend to highlight the role of higher clergy. A good example of this relates to the ceremonies that Henry represents to have taken place in Riga during a campaign against the Livs (1206). In the beginning, the focus is on bishop Albert and his company of clerics who are likely celebrating a kind of votive Mass (Arbusow 1951: 52), directed towards intercession. 'Having just celebrated Mass the bishop was with his priests. He was waiting in the fear of God and with prayers to see if by chance anyone should appear to report to him what had been done. For in his heart had faith in the lord.'[325]

When, finally, the news about the victory arrived to Riga, the townspeople join the clergy in celebrations. 'And suddenly there appeared in the distance a little ship in which a Brother of the Militia was returning with some wounded men. He presented the head of Ako [a Livic chieftain] to the bishop as a sign of victory. The bishop rejoiced with all who had remained at home and gave thanks to God, Who, through a few, wrought the salvation of His church.'[326] Here, thanksgiving contains elements that are central to Henry's representation of the crusades, such as the idea that God fights through the hand of few. In addition, the passage depicts crusading as a movement from fear to rejoicing, as well as stresses the inclusion of the whole community in this process.[327]

It could be argued that on a frontier, where the number of Christians was small, the participation of everybody in the intercessory rituals was particularly important. Of course, in the Holy Land and Iberia, the amount of Christians was equally small. Yet, on a missionary frontier, the Christian community also was very dynamic due to the conversion of the neophytes. Concerning the inclusion and integration of the neophytes into the Christian community, Henry capitalizes on the role of rituals and especially the crusade rituals, as examined in more detail in Article Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]).

In connection to the symbolic practices involving the neophytes, Henry emphasises the manifestation of emotions. As shown in the above-mentioned article, at first these are linked to their conversion, which Henry represents as a major emotional change, evoked by the arousal of the fear of God.

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[325] *Erat autem episcopus cum clericis suis celebrata missa in Dei timore et orationibus expectans, si forte quispiam appareret referens ei quid ageretur. Erat autem cor eius fiduciam habens in Domino.* (HCL X.8, p. 38; Brundage, p. 59; cf. Tobias 2:14, Daniel 13:35, Proverbs 3:5.)

[326] *Et subito apparuit navicula de longe, in qua quidam de fratribus milicie rediens cum vulneratis quibusdam caput Akonis pro signo victorie episcopo presentat. At ille gaudens cum universis, qui domi remanserant, gratias agit Deo, qui per paucos operatus est salutem ecclesie sue.* (HCL X.8, pp. 38–39; Brundage, pp. 59–60; cf. Tobias 2:14, Psalms 73:12.)

[327] The possible reference to the same verse from Tobias (2:14) also underlines that the fear of God and giving thanks to him are inseparable from each other: 'But she replied upon me, It was given for a gift more than the wages. Howbeit I did not believe her, but bade her render it to the owners: and I was abashed at her. But she replied upon me, Where are thine alms and thy righteous deeds? Behold, thou and all thy works are known.'

Concerning the integration of the neophytes into the Christian community, demonstrations of another emotion, grief, gain a crucial importance.

Yet, in Henry's chronicle grief is not only related to the manifestations of new social bonds, but it also plays a leading role in the legitimisation of the crusades against the Estonians, which started in 1208. Tellingly, we hear about the grieving neophytes for the first time at the wake of these campaigns, where the converted Livs and Lettgallians joined the army of the German crusaders against the Estonians. From here onwards, the suffering of the neophytes develops into one of the key elements that Henry uses for the legitimisation of the campaigns, as also shown in Article Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]).

According to Henry, hence, symbolic practices involved not only the crusaders, but also the subjects of conversion and colonisation, the neophytes. As an account of a missionary frontier crusade, this chronicle, thus, reveals significant departures from the mainstream. While the injuries inflicted upon Christian lands and peoples were often used for justifying the crusades (Riley-Smith 1992: 22–24), Henry transforms this idea. Firstly, he stresses the injuries of the neophytes rather than those of the settler Christians. Secondly, next to the physical suffering, or martyrdom of the newly converted peoples[328] – which would still have been a more traditional way of justifying a crusade – Henry prefers to highlight the neophytes' emotional response to the injuries, i.e. their grief.

In this scheme, the full inclusion of the neophytes into the Christian community is also manifested by emotional displays, as Henry represents them to join the crusaders and the settler Christians in thanksgiving and rejoicing. Again, for the first time their joy is mentioned in connection to the first joint campaign of the crusaders and neophytes against the Estonians (1208), after which the Lettgallians returned 'rejoicing'.[329] Thereby they go through a similar transformation as the crusaders and settler Christians, moving from grief and suffering to experiencing joy and salvation.

Joy also is the central element in Henry's representations of the meetings between the neophytes and the papal legate, where William of Modena is shown to rejoice over the Livs' and Lettgallians' contribution to the crusades. Such positive conceptualisation of the newly converted peoples harmonizes well with Henry's own vision, but likely also reflects the papal curia's growing emphasis on the pastoral care of the neophytes, which was characteristic to the reigns of Innocent III and Honorius III.[330]

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[328] This is another feature typical of crusade and missionary literature that Henry strongly connects with the neophytes. Next to the martyrs among the crusaders and clerics who have travelled to Livonia from abroad, Henry highlights the death of the newly converted natives, and often links this with the idea of martyrdom. Johansen 1953. For the depiction of death in Henry's chronicle, see Tamm 2011.

[329] *Lethi … leti in Beverin redierunt* (HCL XII.6, p. 65; Brundage, p. 87).

[330] Among other things, the popes were motivated by fears that the harsh treatment might lead the neophytes to apostasy, as this concern was made topical by the news coming from the Prussian crusade front (Fonnesberg-Schmidt 2007: 177–179). William's interest in the mission amongst the pagans is discussed in *Ibid.*: 172–176, also pointing to the Dominican influences.

Henry's representation of the crusade rituals illustrates well that the crusades fought in the peripheral regions, such as Livonia, were remarkably innovative in adapting crusade ideas and rituals. Recycling and flexibility were, of course, characteristic of medieval rituals in general. Gerd Althoff has well pointed to the constant transformation of medieval rituals, arguing that people 'varied, mixed, or updated them in keeping with the given situation or even invented new rituals if there was no suitable pre-existing ritual language at their disposal' (2003b: 73). Already existing ritual elements could be combined in a variety of ways: familiar gestures and ways of behaving were adapted to fit new circumstances, persons, or places, or, for example, used in inverted manner. This also resulted in new meanings.

Crusade liturgies and rituals were no exception in this regard. Scholars have pointed to their heterogeneity, as well as their dependence on the recycling of earlier materials.[331] The authors of crusade liturgies transformed liturgical materials, prayers, papal bulls, and preaching manuals. The appropriation of already existing elements included the transmission of not only texts, but also forms, as the crusade liturgies evolved out of and within larger liturgical types (Linder 2003: xviii). At the same time, they could use variable forms and be targeted to more than one aim.[332] As a whole, this diversity and flexibility suggests active and widespread practice (Linder 2003: 144).

Taking the cross has often been used for demonstrating how crusade theory and practice relied on earlier religious attitudes and practices, especially those related to the pilgrimage.[333] Indeed, it seems that the benediction of departing crusaders was based on the pilgrimage rituals.[334] Yet, it is not certain whether the cross was used as a sign of the pilgrims already before crusades, or not.[335] The cult of the cross, moreover, reached a high point namely in the eleventh century.[336] This shows well that the

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[331] The evolution of the different types of Holy Land liturgy from the late twelfth century onwards, studied by Amnon Linder (2003), is a good example of such recycling. Concerning the emergence of crusade liturgies, Carl Erdmann showed well how they evolved out of much older liturgical forms (1977: e.g. 83–87). Tellingly, the prestige of the crusades could also make historians to describe contemporary liturgical practices to have taken place also in earlier epochs, as it had happened in Iberia (O'Callaghan 2004: 188).

[332] From the home front, a good example of this variability is the Holy Land Mass that was celebrated in three principal forms and in a number of various ways, as shown in detail in Linder 2003: 97–98.

[333] Thus the similarities between the crusade and pilgrimage have also given reason to argue that the success of the movement 'depended on its familiarity, not its novelty' (Tyerman 1998: 23, cf. 2007: 65–70).

[334] As claimed in e.g. Erdmann 1977: 331–332. Thus the sword of the crusaders was blessed along with the staff and purse, the usual symbols of pilgrimage since the early Middle Ages (Constable 2008a: 56–57).

[335] For example, Giles Constable (2008a: 56–62, 70–71, 89–90) has pointed out that the earliest preserved texts on rites designed specifically for taking the cross date from the second half of the twelfth century (Pennington 1974). Erdmann, on the other hand, argued for the impact of pilgrimage (1977: 347–348).

[336] As argued by many scholars, see Constable 2008a: 48–49. Around this time, there also occurred the conversion of the cross to military uses (as a symbol of religious *militia* and divine victory), while

propagators of the crusades not copied already existing practices and attitudes, but they also reshaped them.

In connection to the council of Clermont, Christopher Tyerman has well encapsulated the importance of modifying symbolic practices, as well as of learning new forms of behaviour and adapting these to diverging situations.[337] As said, the agency of the local propagators and participants is a relevant issue for the study of the frontier crusades. Borderlands, such as the Baltic Sea region, created a need for various modifications of the crusade rituals. Especially the missionary crusades necessitated innovation, as the already existing models could not be directly applied to local circumstances. Yet, in Henry's representation, symbolic practices could be successfully modified and thereby made to serve a leading role in the very fundamental issues for the making of Christian Livonia, as shown above. According to him, crusade-related rituals enabled to bind the new community together, as well as to justify the crusades.

The way Henry takes seriously the role of rituals seems to support the idea that rituals were not only a theatrical surrounding of the crusade, but the very form that turned the theory of religious and missionary warfare into practice. Above, we have stressed how intertextual citations and paraphrases helped to link the peripheries with the Christian discourse. Much in a similar way, symbolic behaviour offered various forms for imposing the meaning and authority of the frontier campaigns, which were fought far from the centres of the crusade movement, and even more far away from the Holy Land.

Yet, any study of medieval rituals also is a challenging topic due to the scarceness of other than textual sources. Visual and material culture could offer an alternative, but also this has to be interpreted with care. In addition, there are not very many images and visual sources concerning the expansion in the Baltic Sea region[338], and at present they have not been studied extensively. Although archaeological material has been studied relatively more in connection to the conquest and conversion, it has not been discussed much in relation to the performative aspects of the crusades and Christianisation. Liturgical sources could illuminate this more, but again, in the Baltic and Nordic region, little has been preserved from the conversion period.[339]

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previously it was regarded as contrasting with combat (being a symbol of Christ's victory) (Erdmann 1977: 346–347). Yet, for the crusades, the cross was suitable namely due to the close association with the imitation of Christ, also echoing the call to follow him and to carry his cross (Constable 2008a: 85–86).

337 'At Clermont the unfamiliarity of the new ritualistic forms, notably taking the cross, and the uncertainty of the correct response presented problems. As with all revivalist meetings, Urban's sermon demanded a physical as well as vocal reaction; nothing destroys the message of ritual more certainly than unease or confusion in is performance.' (Tyerman 2007: 65.)

338 For example, we know of crusade-themed frescoes from Denmark and fourteenth-century Prussia. In Lübeck and Lödös (Sweden) have also been preserved pilgrims' badges that associate Livonia with the Virgin (as briefly mentioned above in connection to St. Mary).

339 Concerning Livonia, there are no liturgical sources from the Christianisation and crusade period. In general, what has been preserved of crusade liturgies is scarce. The relevant sources are also greatly

Thus, as any research on the use of rituals during the Christian expansion in this area is mostly limited to texts and especially history writing, we also need to address the relations between the historiographical representations and the practices they describe. This is the topic of the following subsection.

Between practices and representations: Some perspectives on the study of medieval rituals

Focusing on the role of cultural representations and practices in the expansion process, this study also has a more theoretical dimension, which addresses the problems that have been raised in connection to the study of medieval rituals. These questions are also discussed in Articles Three (Kaljundi 2013) and Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]).

As well put by Jacques Le Goff, 'medieval civilisation was one of gestures'.[340] Above, we have emphasised that rituals, gestures, ceremonies, liturgies, and other forms of ritualized behaviour have always been prominent objects of research in medieval studies. However, their study has also witnessed significant changes, which first and foremost concern the understanding about the social role of symbolic communication.

The classic studies of cultural history, such as Johan Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919) regarded medieval rituals as a form of escapism. 'It transfers actual life to the sphere of the drama. It shoes it with cothurns,' claimed Huizinga (1954: 53), thus setting rituals apart from daily social interaction. This view was closely related to the widely acknowledged belief that the Middle Ages were an age of violent, irrational, and uncontrolled emotions. Stressing that this period was the 'childhood of man', Huizinga interpreted rituals as tools of emotional control, which canalized the brutal and aggressive sentiments of medieval men into art and play.[341]

In the post-war period, these ideas have been contested. At first, the above discussed works of the historical anthropologists pointed to the function of rituals and gestures in medieval societies. In the 1980s–1990s, the enlivening of the German research tradition concerning the royal rituals

unexplored and not accessible due to the lack of critical editions, which is in sharp contrast to the rich variety of editions of other primary crusade sources (Linder 2003: xviii). Amnon Linder (2003) has recently published the sources related to the five types of Holy Land liturgy that were evolved in Europe under the impact of the defeat of Hattin (1187) and performed in Mass and in Office in order to support the crusades. There also are smaller publications of concrete crusade liturgies, e.g. France 1988, Cole 1995.

[340] Le Goff 1992: 357; cf. Schmitt 1990: 14–16 for similar arguments concerning the prominence of the ritual and performative sphere in the Middle Ages.

[341] For example, the following statement by Huizinga is characteristic of the approach. 'These futile forms become touching, and their moral and civilizing value is better understood, on remembering they emanated from the passionate soul of a savage race, struggling to tame its pride and its anger. Often enough native rudeness pierces through the thin veneer of politeness.' (Huizinga 1954: 48.)

also brought into focus a number of ways how symbolic behaviour was involved in the social interaction and governance, stressing that rituals not only passively represented, but also actively shaped the medieval political culture.[342]

These studies have stressed the fundamental importance of personal bonds and relationships in feudal society[343], as well as the significance of demonstrative action in public communication.[344] Thereby this research has also changed the perspective on medieval emotions, which is discussed in more detail in Article Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]). First and foremost, they interpret the representations of overwhelmingly strong emotions as accounts of goal orientated action, instead of treating them as signs of emotional chaos.

During the recent decades, however, medieval rituals have also become an object of heated disputes. Many of the issues raised are not unique to medieval studies, but relate to the discussions concerning historical anthropology more generally. One big set of problems concerns the threat of tangling into universalism, which partly appears to result from the more flexible definition of rituals and performances. The overarching presumption according to which (almost) all social interaction is made up of symbolic practices has made scholars from various fields to ask, what can we eventually conclude from this?

In connection to the drama analogies, which largely helped to popularize the view that staging and symbolic behaviour play an important role in very many aspects of social life, Clifford Geertz voiced these concerns well, arguing that the glory and misery of such approaches stands in their seeming universalism that makes them applicable to all kinds of events. Yet the focus on the universal course of events prevents us from seeing that the fact that 'formally similar processes have different content. It can expose some of the profoundest features of social process, but at the expense of making vividly disparate matters look drably homogeneous.' (1980b: 173.)

The threat of universalism also is topical in medieval studies, not the least due to the long tradition of viewing the Middle Ages as 'the age of ritual'. Thus, it can be difficult to get beyond the universalistic observations about the omnipresence of symbolic behaviour in all aspects of medieval life and the construction of equally universalistic rules for them, as for example Geoffrey Koziol has remarked (2002: 382–383).

Similar warnings have been voiced in connection to historical anthropology, scholars advising historians against making very broad generalizations. As argued by Natalie Zemon Davis, historians who follow the ideas of functionalist anthropology, often tend to overstress system, order, and consensus at the expense of heterogeneity, change and conflict (1981: 274–275). As one way to avoid tangling into this kind of universalism, she

[342] E.g. Bierende, Bretfeld, and Oschema 2008.

[343] As claimed in e.g. Althoff 1990, 1992; and Bagge 2002.

[344] A good example of this is Gerd Althoff's concept *Zur-Schau-Stellung* (1997: 229–257).

suggests to focus on particular case studies, placing events and their representations in their context (Davis 1981: esp. 275; cf. Geertz: 1980b).

Another issue that has been debated even more widely in connection to medieval rituals concerns the fact that none of us has unmediated access to them. This problem, likewise, is not unique, but essential to historical anthropology. As well put by Peter Burke, one needs to ask: 'How can historians do "fieldwork" among the dead?'[345] This relates to the major difference between the two disciplines, history and anthropology: anthropologists have traditionally studied their subjects and their behaviour directly, while historians have depended on texts, or visual and material sources (Thomas 1963: 5, Macfarlane 1977). Even though one must agree that 'this distinction is hardly sufficient to justify our dismissing the two subjects as fundamentally different disciplines' (Thomas 1963: 5), analysing symbolic practices on the basis of age-old texts – or visual and material culture – does pose serious problems of its own. Similar issues have been raised in connection to analysing past emotions, which are inevitably mediated by culturally and socially constructed narratives, or images and artefacts.

In medieval studies, these problems were addressed particularly extensively in the debate provoked by Philippe Buc's book *The Dangers of Ritual* from 2001.[346] Buc contested the study of medieval ritual, as well as the concept itself, even suggesting to stop using the term 'ritual' in connection to the Middle Ages at all.[347] Drawing on early medieval examples, he argued that our access to past rituals is too limited for drawing any conclusions, as it is mostly based only on textual representations. In addition, Buc stressed that these depictions are most often highly partisan and polemical, as their authors were engaged in various power struggles. Therefore, he argued that medieval representations of rituals should be viewed as textual and rhetorical devices, which the authors have used to support the aspirations of their institutions.

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345 Burke 1987: 15. Already earlier, E.E. Evans-Pritchard had voiced a similar question, asking 'how can an Oxford don work himself into the mind of a serf of Louis the Pious?' (1961: 13–14.)

346 For the debate, see Koziol 2002; Buc 2004, 2007. The studies of Gerd Althoff – which in many ways represent the kind of approach to medieval rituals that Buc is contesting – have also provoked some criticism. See, first and foremost, Dinzelbacher 2009. Geoffrey Koziol (2002: 380–381) has also challenged Althoff's approach, arguing that his emphasis on the variability of rituals is in clear contrast with one of his central concepts, the 'rules of play' (*Spielregeln*). According to Althoff (1997), these rules expressed the norms of political culture, governed the public interaction and thus allowed the functioning of the system, even if they remained unwritten and were never explicitly acknowledged. Such an idea of 'rules', however, contradicts with his claim that medieval rituals were characterised by constant innovation and modification.

347 It should be pointed out that an important element of Buc's arguments against using the concept is related to the criticism of the modern use of the term 'ritual', which mostly associates it with the political and cultural hegemony of the Western world. Buc claims that the concept 'ritual' is used for describing the religious life of the colonial, racial, or religious 'other' and takes it back to the early Christian differentiation between their 'sacraments' and the Roman 'rituals'. After the Reformation, a similar distinction was used to criticise Catholic 'sacraments' as mere 'rituals' and the term 'ritual' was also adapted for describing the colonial subjects. See Buc 2001: 164–76, 188–94; cf. Buc 2000.

All this raises the question whether it possible to take advantage of the changes in the study of medieval symbolic practices – which enable to highlight their social role – and at the same time to take into consideration the criticism these new approaches have encountered? What would be the options, if we wish to take into account that all medieval rituals are inevitably mediated, but do not want to resign to the idea that the subjective nature of our sources makes the study of medieval symbolic behaviour entirely impossible? The possibilities of critically approaching the social role of symbolic practices are also discussed in Articles Three (Kaljundi 2013) and Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]). Here, we would like to develop these ideas little further.

To begin with, as also suggested above, the research on medieval rituals should focus on concrete examples, instead of developing any broad patterns or algorithms. Next to this, it is also important to pay attention to the ways in which context and authorial intent have shaped their representations. Concerning the role of symbolic behaviour in the Christian expansion around the Baltic Sea region, the analysis must take into account the uses of their representations in the struggles for pre-eminence and legitimacy.

At the same time, we would like to argue that while the subjective nature of the source material prevents us from knowing whether and how concrete rituals actually took place, the medieval chroniclers' frequent mentioning of various rituals in connection to power politics also suggests their trust in the authority and efficacy of such practices.

In his study of medieval gestures, Jean-Claude Schmitt has well remarked that even though historians are inevitably limited to studying representations, these representations are at the same time also interpretations of the culture they depict (1990: 21–24). Another important example for this kind of an approach has been David A. Warner's treatment of the Ottonian rituals. Admitting that 'because the memories of medieval churchmen, our chief informants, were both malleable and subject to partisanship, the degree to which an account of a ritual corresponds with the actual event must always remain doubt', Warner, however, also well argues that there is no need to stop at this conclusion: 'in any case, whether the ritual in question actually occurred or not, the ability to impose a particular reading on it implied a kind of power or authority' (2001: 256). Thus, despite the uncertainty of the details of concrete ritual events, 'the very fact that ritual exerted such a powerful influence on the historical imagination offers still other, potentially fruitful avenues of inquiry' (*Ibid.*: 260).

Although the critics of ritual studies have stressed that a large proportion of the medieval depictions of rituals derive from historiography and thus are strongly biased, it is equally possible to argue that namely the ideological and political significance of history writing enables to take historians' representations of rituals seriously. Especially at the frontiers, as stressed above, historiography was an important medium for building up authority.

Although their accounts are biased, they reflect a belief in the social and political potential of rituals.

Concerning the historiographical description of rituals, one also has to take into account that most of medieval historians were clerics. Scholars have often raised the question how much has the largely clerical background of medieval historians shaped their representation of events and thus also our vision the period. This question has also been raised in connection to the crusades, researchers asking whether the clerical perspective has made the historians to overstress the importance of ritual and liturgical occasions in the course of those events.

Yet, it is important to emphasise that the clerical authors not only constructed the histories of crusades, but the phenomenon as a whole bears a strong clerical imprint.[348] The clerics communicated the crusade message to the participants and wider audiences through sermons, liturgies, and other kinds of performative occasions. They also orchestrated the performance of various rituals before, during, and after battles.

Thus the fact that the clergy played a leading role in organising various kinds of rituals and performances also gives reason to take their accounts seriously. Although it does not exclude bias, it still means that these depictions of rituals were produced by informed authors who were daily involved in organising various symbolic acts. We might draw a similar conclusion about the role of the clergy in the conquest of the Baltic Sea realm, where they also participated in the organisation of various kinds of rituals that were related to the conversion of the local population and the conquest of their lands, as well as to the crusades.[349]

Thus while we cannot establish the details of each concrete ritual, on the basis of medieval historiography we can still study the close connection between the symbolic practices and the power struggles. We can also analyse the types of rituals that were shown to contribute to the establishing of the new rule. In the Articles Three (Kaljundi 2013) and Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]), as well as in the previous subchapter, we have brought some relevant examples about the role of rituals in providing authority for the conquest and conversion, as well as in creating new social bonds at the frontier.

Next to the ideas about the efficacy and functionality of rituals in the Christianisation process, historiography also enables to study the beliefs concerning the sources from where the rituals were supposed to gain their power and authority. This, moreover, reveals an important parallel between

[348] The clerical imprint on medieval symbolic practices, of course, is not limited to the crusades. Even though traditionally the medieval culture of gesture is associated with feudality, the clerics played a leading role in its development as a whole (Schmitt 1990: 14–16).

[349] Thus while Henry's clerical background has previously often considered as a disadvantage, it could also be viewed as a major advantage. As a cleric, he actively took part in the performance of crusade liturgies and other practices, including the rites of conversion. Equally importantly, he was in daily contact with the sacred texts that were performed in liturgies and other ceremonies.

texts and rituals, as both of them are based on the recollection of the authoritative past. As stressed a number of times in this study, at the frontier, which was only being subjugated to Christendom, establishing connections to the authoritative, sacred past was a particularly crucial issue.

This commemorative aspect sheds some new light to the relations between rituals and history writing. As discussed above, establishing typological links to the authoritative past is a fundamental feature of medieval history writing. Much in a similar way, the authority of ritual actions is mostly based on repeating some authoritative examples from the sacred past, as also shown in the previous subchapter. In other words, literary links to the sacred texts and ritual re-performances of the sacred past share a similar function, as both of them are aimed at establishing connections to the sacred sphere and thereby at granting meaning and authority to the present.

Concerning the remembrance of the past in ritual and historiography, one should also take into account the importance of liturgy as a memorial medium. The essential function of liturgy is mnemonic, as it is aimed at the remembrance of the sacred and biblical history (Spiegel 2002, cf. Oexle 1982). Liturgical year was organised around the remembrance of the most important events from the life of Jesus. The central element of liturgy, the Mass, was closely tied to commemoration, as its efficacy was based on the Eucharist, which fulfilled Christ's instruction to take bread and wine 'in remembrance of me'.[350] Thus, the authority of liturgy is largely based on the massive repetition of authorised language telling about the sacred past (Palazzo 2000: 29–35).

In the Middle Ages, also other rituals often took the form of liturgy, or then were based on combining various liturgical elements, which recalled the sacred past. In addition, medieval history writing also uses liturgical quotations, which linked the present to the sacred past. Medieval texts in general demonstrate 'the constant interpenetration of texts designed for liturgical celebration and those intended for recording and disseminating the *res gestae*' (Geary 2006: 326).

In connection to the Christianisation of the Baltic and Nordic realm, the relations between liturgy and history writing have not been studied much, with the exception of saints.[351] The prominent role of Nordic saints, discussed above, was intimately tied to the construction of hagiographical and historiographical narratives and thus the medium of writing (Mortensen 2006c). Next to texts, liturgy played an equally important, if not even greater role in the introduction of local sainthood.[352] On the one hand, it has been

[350] As said in 1 Corinthians 11: 23–26. See Palazzo 2000: 18–23, cf. 17–39.

[351] For example, by the articles in the volume Mortensen 2006 (e.g. Mortensen 2006a, Phelpstead 2006). These also highlight the impact of hagiography on history writing, as does Lifshitz 1994.

[352] As recently argued by a scholar of Norwegian liturgy, Åslaug Ommundsen (2013), liturgy played a major role in the localisation of Christianity. The Nordic countries, of course, were no exception in this,

remarked that these adaptations of liturgy were always adaptations of written sacred texts (cf. Mortensen 2006b: 9). On the other hand, the emergence of Nordic literature was closely bound to ritual and ritualized speech, as marked speech in a ritual context was at the root of many literary forms.[353] This shows the close intertwining of literary and performative media, illustrating well the claims that one should not oppose 'the culture of gesture' and literary culture, which were used simultaneously (Schmitt 1990: 15–16).

One of the few historiographical works whose relations to liturgical texts have been analysed in more detail is Henry's chronicle, as there exists a considerable research tradition about its biblical and liturgical citations. The text as a whole provides a particularly good illustration of the idea that the events, figures and phenomena of 'our modern times' (HCL I.1, p. 1–2; Brundage, p. 25) gain meaning and authority only when set in typological relations with past things. In this text, citations from the sacred discourse are almost omnipresent, including words and verses from the Vulgate, as well as liturgical books.[354] Even considering that citing the bible was growing namely around this time[355], the total number of quotations in Henry's chronicle is still remarkably high, amounting eleven hundred.[356] This figure includes both biblical and liturgical quotes, while it is often difficult to distinguish between the two, as the language of the two traditions is so closely interwoven and is mostly based on the Vulgate.[357]

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as liturgy played a major role in the remembrance of saints throughout Europe (Palazzo 2000: 177–193).

353 For a discussion on these issues in relation to the emergence of Christian storyworlds in the Nordic and Baltic region and the emphasis on performances in this process, see Mortensen and Lehtonen 2013.

354 The latter including the Mass (the Missals and Sacramentaries) and Office books (the Breviaries). In addition, the chronicle contains some classical, secular and religious citations from other sources: from a florilegium (that is the most likely source of citations from Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Cicero), the Church Fathers (likely mediated by the Breviary), contemporary charters, as well as local languages (for the latter, see Murray 2011). A thorough register of the biblical and liturgical citations is provided by Vilis Bilkins (1928). For a discussion on all the different types of quotations in his text see Arbusow 1950; see also Undusk 2011: 49–50, cf. Undusk 1990.

355 Jaan Undusk, for example, has stressed that the high level of intertextuality should be placed in the contemporary context, as Henry was writing at the heydays of citing the bible, as the medieval historians had developed a serious interest in it only since the twelfth century (2011: 50–51, cf. Guenée 1980: 30–31). In addition, the crusades contributed to the growing approprion of the bible (Bresc 2003). Leonid Arbusow, however, claimed that the number of biblical citations in Henry's chronicle considerably exceeds the average (Arbusow 1951: 3, 42).

356 Bauer 1959: xxix. According to Vilis Bilkins (1928), the total number of biblical citations in Henry's chronicle is 775.

357 This especially concerns the relations between the Vulgate and the Breviary. A detailed analysis of Henry's use of liturgical quotations is Arbusow 1951. Vilis Bilkins has even questioned whether Henry used the Vulgate at all, suggesting that his biblical language could also derive from the Breviary (Bilkins 1928: 76). In 1203–1204, however, Pope Innocent III had a manuscript of the Vulgate sent to the Church of Riga (as also mentioned in HCL VII.3, p. 21), which could have been used by Henry (Arbusow 1950: 108; Undusk 2011: 50). As no medieval Livonian breviaries have been preserved (the earliest liturgical book from Livonia being a fifteenth-century missal), it is difficult to draw any more concrete conclusions. The late medieval materials are analysed in von Bruiningk 1904. That the liturgical books of a church or a diocese have not been preserved is not uncommon; but this also means

Concerning the research on Henry's uses of liturgy, we can differentiate between two approaches: an instrumental perspective, which emphasises the linguistic usefulness of liturgical quotations, and an opposing view that stresses their symbolic value.

The first is at its best represented by Leonid Arbusow's unique studies on the impact of liturgy on history writing.[358] He showed that almost every chapter of Henry's chronicle is influenced by liturgy, finding around 100 different liturgical references from this text, as well as pointing to many other liturgical elements that arguably influenced his language (Arbusow 1951: 42). His study, yet, focused on the (inter)textual relations between history writing and liturgy, and less on the functions of liturgy, even though Arbusow was explaining the abundance of quotations with the chronicler's active involvement in liturgical ceremonies and rituals (1951: 42–45).

Indeed, it seems inevitable to connect Henry's ample use of liturgical language to his everyday environment where he was constantly celebrating Mass, reciting the daily office, baptizing converts, and performing other ceremonies, which made him deeply familiar with liturgical and hence also biblical texts.[359] Even the structure of the chronicle recalls the organisation of the liturgical calendar, as the majority of its chapters are arranged according to the Easter Year. The ample use of biblical and liturgical language also bears witness to Henry's education that likely focused primarily on the Vulgate and the liturgical texts that a future priest needed to know.[360]

According to Arbusow, however, Henry cites liturgical texts and the Vulgate unintentionally, or even unconsciously (1951: 109). He also claims that Henry uses the biblical and liturgical language in order to compensate the poverty of his Latin vocabulary.[361] This, yet, immediately rises the question what would be an alternative to this kind of language: to which extent we can speak of a pure language, free of any quotations, especially in the context of written medieval Latin. Nevertheless, Arbusow found further support to his argument from an equally purist definition of a citation: the

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that the study of Henry's liturgical quotations has been based on alternative liturgical books in stead (see Arbusow 1951: 1–3, 6).

[358] Next to Henry, this study by Arbusow (1951) also discussed the works of Otto of Freising, Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*, as well as Adam's and Helmold's chronicles. Concerning the Hamburg-Bremen authors, Arbusow also pointed to close liturgical relations. While in 1186–1214, Riga was a suffrage of Bremen, the liturgical traditions of Bremen were also used in Livonia. Henry, Adam, Rimbert and Helmold read their Masses according to the same formulas from Bremen; and at least Adam, Helmold and Henry also read the daily liturgies in a very similar manner. Examples of the connections between these texts are discussed in Arbusow 1951: 6–7. The impact of liturgical language on Henry's chronicle is also analysed in Arbusow 1950.

[359] Cf. Arbusow 1951: 80, 87–88. The impact of daily liturgical environment on Henry's use of language has also been stressed in e.g. Bilkins 1928: 76, Johansen 1953, Bauer 1955: xxix, and Brundage 2011: 3.

[360] As said, Henry was likely in schooled in Segeberg that prepared the future missionaries. Hence, he was provided with the basic tools they he would need as a cleric: enough Latin to conduct liturgical services properly, to read the Bible, and to comprehend the basic teachings of Christian theology (Brundage 2011: 3).

[361] Arbusow 1951: 42–44, 80, 87–88; cf. Arbusow 1950: 109.

transfer of wording has to be exact. As Henry has mostly used abbreviated or paraphrasal expressions (even while describing liturgical celebrations), for Arbusow these 'impure' quotations provide additional proof that the author cites unintentionally (1951: 88).

The transformation of quotations also caught the interest of Vilis Bilkins. Bilkins showed that Henry very often presents biblical phrases in almost original wording, but has often altered liturgical formulas, which he should have known by heart.[362] From these modifications Bilkins concluded that Henry cites intentionally.[363]

Recently, Jaan Undusk (2011, cf. 1990) has elaborated further the ideas concerning the chronicler's proactive use of the biblical and liturgical language. Thereby he has also offered serious criticism of Arbusow's interpretation. In Undusk's view, in a medieval chronicle, a citation from a sacred text is not solely a linguistic phenomenon, but aims towards establishing a contact with the sacred.[364] Analysing the semantics of quotations, Undusk argues that typology is the most important feature of Henry's writing. He claims, thus, that the chronicler uses the bible and the liturgical texts as a kind of 'metaphysical machinery' (Undusk 2011: 47), which he appropriates for linking the Livonian history to the sacred past.[365] According to Undusk, hence, Henry uses the same expressions in similar situations not because of his lack of words, but because of his typological thinking, as he seeks generalizing types for the individual Livonian events from the sacred history.[366]

This approach according to which the quotations connect the history of the Livonian and Estonian crusade to the Christian sacred history and discourse echoes the discussions about the intertextual integration of the frontiers, discussed above. Here, we would like to ask whether according to Henry this 'typological machinery' also extends beyond the textual sphere. In order to do so, we should not entirely dismiss the links between the liturgical citations and the liturgical practices.

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[362] Thus, even when describing liturgical performances, the chronicler has mostly used abbreviated or periphrasal expressions instead of reproducing the liturgical phrases (Bilkins 1928: 91–92, cf. Undusk 2011: 52). Leonid Arbusow also pointed this out (1951: 88), as well as showed that in comparison to Henry, Helmold's representations of liturgy are much more precise and detailed (1951: 53–54).

[363] Bilkins also showed that Henry tends to use more quotations for describing crucial events, gives the biblical quotations prominent places in his text, and shows considerable skill in adapting the quotations (1928: 91–92).

[364] Thus, Undusk even argues that in a medieval text the transfer of the word from the Holy Scripture was 'equal to the transfer of the holiness itself' (2011: 68).

[365] Undusk 2011: 66–70, cf. 45–47. The term 'metaphysical machinery' occurs in Undusk 2011: 47.

[366] Thus an awareness that the bible is being cited can exist in parallel with an unawareness of what exactly is being quoted on every single occasion, as what matters is maintaining a constant contact with the Scripture (Undusk 2011: 53). Undusk, however, also adds that 'even though the general constant presence of the Holy Scripture in his chronicle's text is of primary importance for Henry, he also weighs each single citation from Holy Writ with an experienced eye' (*Ibid.*) Using several examples Undusk shows that Henry carefully contextualises the biblical expressions (2011: 57). Vilis Bilkins (1928) has come to a similar conclusion, stressing Henry's skill in placing the sacred quotations in a suitable context (1928: 91–92).

We would like to argue that these passages are related to the ritual or liturgical remembrance of the sacred past, and thus suggest the importance of using various memorial media in the remembrance of the sacred past. In this chroncile, the sacred past is constantly recalled through various quotations. Next to this (inter)textual level, Henry also constantly refers to the recalling of the sacred past through various symbolic practices. The chronicle provides one especially vivid example, which simultaneously refers to the (inter)textual and performative connections with the sacred past. This concerns the liturgical 'Play of the Prophets', which took place in Riga in winter 1204.[367]

That same winter a very elaborate play of the prophets was performed in the middle of Riga in order that the pagans might learn the rudiments of the Christian faith by an ocular demonstration. The subject of this play was most diligently explained to both converts and pagans through an interpreter. When, however, the army of Gideon fought the Philistines, the pagans began to take flight, fearing lest they be killed, but they were quietly called back. This play was like a prelude and prophecy of the future; for in the same play there were wars, namely those of David, Gideon, and Herod, and there was the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments. Certainly, through the many wars that followed, the pagans were to be converted and, through the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, they were to be told how they might attain to the true Peacemaker and eternal life.[368]

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, performances of biblical events were practiced on many European frontiers, with the aim to promote the continuity of worship amongst the neophytes. Their use was especially characteristic to the reign of pope Innocent III, who also produced several regulations for organizing such performances in the frontier areas (Bolton 1999: 93–97). Henry's representation of the 'play' in Riga also seems to point towards a belief in the efficacy of the performances of the sacred past in a region of ongoing conquest and conversion.

Next to an educational function, the 'play' suggests the importance of the performative sphere in manifesting the connections with the sacred history. In this respect, it also provides a good example how textual and ritual media can complement each other. As discussed above, by way of comparisons and quotations, the text of Henry's chronicle links the Livonian events to the

[367] The 'play' has caught much scholarly interest, such as, Schneider 1989, Bolton 1999, Petersen 2011; a bibliography of earlier studies on the topic is presented in Schneider 1989: 107–111. A typological analysis of the scene is given in Undusk 2011: 64–65. It is also touched upon in Articles Three (Kaljundi 2013) and Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]).

[368] *Iste autem ludus quasi preludium et presagium erat futurorum. Nam in eodem ludo erant bella, utpote David, Gedeonis, Herodis; erat et doctrina Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quia nimirum per bella plurima que sequuntur convertenda erat gentilitas, et per doctrinam Veteris et Novi Testamenti erat instruenda, qualiter ad verum pacificum et ad vitam perveniat eternam.* (HCL IX.14, p. 32; Brundage p. 53.)

history of the ancient Israelites. The very same biblical events and figures are also re-performed during the 'play'.[369]

The 'play' is first and foremost addressed to an audience of Livic neophytes. In this scene, the Livs are represented to be afraid of the staged fighting and this, of course, underlines their ignorance. Yet, on a typological level, what the Livs see re-enacted here is the same biblical history that is, according to Henry, comparable to the campaigns in Livonia. Being afraid of the Christian warriors, the Livic audience also acts according to the role Henry has given to them in his overall scheme of things.

As explained above, Henry often compares the local heathens to the Philistines, with the help of appropriate quotations from the Old Testament. Especially towards the victorious end of the chronicle, the memory of David's triumph over the Philistines is often revoked.[370] Sometimes, Henry points to the analogy most explicitly. This is the case with a victory of the Rigan army near Jumara in 1223. Then, a joint army of the Rigans, crusaders and Sword Brethren demolished an Estonian army that was raiding the Letgallian territories. While explaining the loss of the Estonians, the chronicle refers to David's victory over the Philistine hero Goliath, saying that 'He Who formerly terrified the Philistines so that they fled before David, terrified them.'[371]

The same division of roles is visible in Henry's representation of the 'play', as there the pagans are represented to identify themselves with the Philistines and to take flight. The fear that they feel while watching the 'play' does not seem so naïve, if we consider that it was fear that helped the Israelites to subdue Philistines and the Christian warriors to subdue the Livs. Furthermore, the 'fear' (*timor*) of the Livs also gains a typological meaning, as it relates to the fear that God had evoked in the hearts of the enemies of the Israelites in the Old Testament.[372] Concerning the chronicle as a whole, thus, as Jaan Undusk has also poignantly remarked, the 'play' not only is based on typology, but it also functions typologically (2011: 64–65). At the backdrop of the chronicle as a whole, the play prefigures the future events and the conquest of Livonia, just like the events of the Bible prefigure the present events (or the events from the Old Testament prefigure the New Testament).

Such frequent representations of the textual and ritual recollection of the past relate to the typological thinking, but also to the overall importance of

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[369] Jaan Undusk has suggested that Henry has confused Gideon and David, as Gideon fought against the Midianites (see Judges 7), not the Philistines (2011: 64).

[370] For example, towards the very end of the chronicle, explaining the success of the crusaders' attack on the Muhu fort, Henry claims that 'He Who always defended David from the Philistines freed His people and gave them victory over the enemy.' (*Qui ad David a Philisteis semper defendit, liberat et ipse suos, victoriam dans de inimicis.*) (XXX.4, p. 219; Brundage, p. 243; cf. 1 Kings 17:37.)

[371] *Sed exterrabat eos, qui quondam exterruit Philisteos, ut fugerunt coram David* (HCL XXVII.1, p. 194; Brundage, p. 214).

[372] As also discussed in Article Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]). Wojtek Jezierski [forthcoming] has even shown that in Henry's chronicle fear (*timor*, *terror*, and their derivatives) are dominating over all other emotion terms besides joy (*gaudium*).

remembrance in medieval society. A large proportion of studies concerning medieval memory have focused on mnemonic techniques.[373] However, a growing amount of research has brought into focus the social importance of memory, showing that *memoria* permeated the medieval culture as a whole, influencing all dimensions of life, including not only religion and theology, but also economy, social behaviour and relations, history writing, art and architecture, etc.[374] It has also pointed to the varieties of commemorative media, including, for example, rituals, liturgies, writing, or visual art.

The aspect of memory has also been discussed in connection to the question how to approach the representations of medieval rituals. David A. Warner, also mentioned above, points out that we can chiefly approach medieval rituals through accounts compiled by the clerical *literati* 'who cultivated the art of memory and understood its capacity to inform both the present and future' (2001: 259). According to Warner, these accounts are characterised by an active, self-interested constriction of memory in which medieval clerical institutions addressed the relationship between their history and their present affairs.[375] This active memory work is also closely related to the dynamics of medieval memories.[376]

What we would like to add here, based on our reading of Henry's chronicle, is the importance of repetition and remediation. We claim that this text stresses the need to use of various memorial media – textual and performative – in the recollection of the past. Next to this, it also highlights the importance of repetition. We would also like to suggest that one useful methodological framework for discussing these aspects highlighted above – the role of remediation and repetition, but also the social relevance and dynamics of remembrance – is provided by the studies of cultural memory. This perspective is also discussed in Article Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]).

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373 The major topics of this kind of research being the transmission of the *ars memoriae* from the ancient world to the Middle Ages, as well as the evolvement of monastic meditation as an alternative mnemonic model. Mapping the transformation of the ancient *ars memoriae*, scholars have discussed the ways it served new kinds of ideologies, Christian remembrance, or organisation of knowledge. Carruthers 2008. The role of *memoria* in the monastic context and the study of the Holy Scripture are discussed in Carruthers 2003.

374 The understanding of *memoria* as a total social phenomenon, which influenced every area of life is introduced in Oexle 1994. Cf. Borgolte 2002; Lauwers 2002. The idea was also widely promoted by Geary 1994; cf. the articles in the volume Althoff, Fried, Geary 2002. The imperative to remember the past, as well as the central position of commemoration in medieval society, including both religious and secular life is stressed in the collection by Brenner, Cohen, Franklin-Brown 2013. Much of the research on the more social dimensions of memory is based on the tradition of studying the commemoration of the dead as a social act, which goes back to the 1950s and the group associated with Gerd Tellenbach. Focusing on commemorative rites, liturgies, memorial books, and the like, these scholars have argued that commemoration connects a community of the living with the saints and the dead. Or, as formulated by Otto Gerhard Oexle, commemoration evokes the presence of the dead (1982, 1994).

375 Warner 2001: 259. A good example of this is the facility by which monasteries altered their foundation legends, see Remensnyder 1996.

376 As pointed out, for example, in Geary 1994: 177. David A. Warner's remarks on the pro-active construction of institutional memories, discussed above, point towards the same direction.

As developed by Jan (1992, 2000) and Aleida Assmann (1999), the study of 'cultural memory' (*kulturelles Gedächtnis*) is based on the concept of 'collective memory', which Maurice Halbwachs (1992) originally introduced in the 1920s. Halbwach, however, distinguished between authentic memory that is born out of face-to-face communication, and the secondary memory that is passed on through cultural media. Assmanns, quite to the contrary, do not treat cultural representations as poor substitutes of 'living memory', but argue that collective memory is the product of cultural processes.

Assmanns also stress the dynamics of cultural memory, as well as its role in 'the concretion of identity' of social groups. According to Jan Assmann's definition, 'cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image.'[377] Thus it is an essentially social-constructivist approach, which argues that shared memories about a shared past do not derive from an original experience, but they are always constructed and reconstructed in the present through literary, performative, and other forms (cf. Rigney 2005: 14–16).

The concept of cultural memory is mostly used for analysing modern societies, but it has been fruitfully applied for researching pre-modern societies alike.[378] Arguing for its usefulness for exploring the medieval Nordic frontier, Lars Boje Mortensen has highlighted the way this perspective reveals the dynamics of remembering. 'Instead of the static concept of 'tradition', 'cultural memory' is dynamic and takes into account the shedding and marginalisation of certain rituals and texts as well as the active preservation and re-interpretation of a long past.' (2006b: 12.)

We would like to suggest that this approach also provides a fresh perspective to the relations between different memorial media, enabling to conceptualise connections between writing and other cultural media in the Christianisation process. The question of memorial media has also been debated in connection to the Middle Ages. Although he does not use the concept 'cultural memory', for example, Patrick J. Geary has addressed the relations between different memorial media especially in the Early Middle Ages.[379]

The Middle Ages was characterized by the transition from oral and ritual into written memorial media[380] and thereby scholars have often addressed

[377] Assmann, J. 1995: 132. Or, as he also puts in the same article: 'Cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its identity and peculiarity.' (*Ibid.*: 130.)

[378] Most emblematic example of this would be Jan Assmann who based his concepts largely on his research on the ancient cultures, especially Egypt.

[379] As he puts it, he has investigated, for example, 'the ordinary practices of recollecting, transforming and using the past' as exhibited by medieval individuals, families and communities (Geary 1994: 10).

[380] Jacques Le Goff (1988), who studied the history of memory as a history of memoria media, characterized the Middle Ages as a period of equilibrium between orality and writing, as the transmission of knowledge was still tightly linked with oral practices and techniques.

the relations between orality and literacy have.[381] This issue also stands in the centre of Jan Assmann's studies, which likewise focused on the role of textualisation in societies where writing is only introduced and where it becomes a crucial factor in the organization of power and religion. In the ancient societies that Assmann studies, rituals, ceremonies and liturgies are still the main modes of cultural memory. Yet, writing gets more and more involved in the selection, hierarchisation and sanctification of memory.[382]

Rather than focusing on the relationship between two different memorial media, oral and literary culture, the current study wishes to emphasise the question of remediation and show how the studies of cultural memory also offer other, alternative ways to conceptualise connections between writing and other cultural media in the Christianisation process.

Cultural memory studies have highlighted the importance of remediation and repetition in the formation of cultural memory.[383] As well argued by Ann Rigney, it is the repeated performance of acts of remembrance that guarantees the efficacy of a version of the past.[384] Closely connected to this is the understanding that one of the key factors in the formation of effective memories is their repetition in various cultural media, which can range from writing and visual arts to rituals.[385] Thus the formation of cultural memory bears witness to an ongoing re-mediation of memories, when, for example, stories are transformed into ceremonies. Repeating and reproducing, however, does not involve only copying and translation, but also interpretation and commentary, which brings along the ongoing dynamics of cultural memory.

Constant remediation and repetition also are characteristic for medieval history writing, as well as for rituals, especially since both the textual and ritual spheres were geared towards recalling the sacred past. Yet, we must also take into account that the clerical background of most chroniclers adds further coherence to their representations of rituals. All the clerical authors discussed here were well versed in sacred texts, as well as in the daily organisation of liturgy, which was based on those sacred texts. Thereby the

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[381] A classic example of this would be Michael Clanchy's (1993, first edition 1979) study focusing on the intersection of literary and oral modes of transmitting knowledge in England after the Norman conquest.

[382] Also drawing on these reasons, Lars Boje Mortensen has likewise argued for the usefulness of Assmann's approach for studying the Nordic frontier in the Middle Ages (2006b: 12–13).

[383] This is closely bound to the arguments concerning the processual nature of cultural memory, which arguably is based on the continuous repetition and re-interpretation of memories. As Jan Assmann puts it, cultural memory is 'a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated practice and initiation' (1995: 126). The importance of repetition (or recursivity) is elaborated in Rigney 2005: 14–16.

[384] As she even claims, 'it is through recursivity … that a cultural memory is constructed as such' (Rigney 2005: 20).

[385] Rigney 2005: 20, 22. Aleida Assmann has also compared the various media that are used for manifesting public remembrance and that stretch from spatial to visual, and from written to ritual (1999: 149–339).

histories they wrote, as well as the performances they organized shared a similar language, which was based on the sacred discourse. Gerd Althoff (2003b: 86) has argued that the medieval rituals were a communicative language made up of 'a limited stock of gestures and modes of behaviour' that could communicate a variety of meanings. Medieval rituals also operated with a limited stock of texts that were vocalised and performed in ritual communication. There existed a corpus of biblical and liturgical quotations that figured prominently in ritual and liturgical re-enactment, and were later used in history writing.

Although the Middle Ages was characterized by aspirations towards controlling the liturgy, every new performance also brought along transformations, particularly in cases when liturgical texts were adapted for new uses. In the Baltic Sea region, also the spread of the crusades brought changes into the use of liturgies and rituals in the expansion process. Particularly from the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth century onwards, the propagators of the crusades developed a more distinguishable language that was used in history writing, proclamations, and other documents, but also in preaching and various symbolic practices. Thus we can speak about the co-development of crusade vocabulary, liturgical texts, and historiography. The fact that the crusade writings and rituals were largely based on the same sacred texts further added to the coherence of these two spheres, meaning that the writing about the crusades and performing them to a great extent operated with the same vocabulary.[386]

Such shared corpus of sacred references must have resulted in a significant interchange between the writing about the crusades and the doing and performing of the crusades. Marcus Bull (2003: 15) has well pointed out that: '[t]he relationship between the doing of crusading and the writing of crusades, the dynamic between lived sequential experience and the narrativizing (sometimes near-simultaneous) of that experience, is something that scholars perhaps need to investigate more fully'.[387] Texts such as Henry's chronicle reveal well that we must also pay more attention to the interaction between the literary and ritual spheres.

Certainly the historiographical representation results in an image of an even greater coherence. Also concerning the medieval chroniclers it is worth keeping in mind that the 'literalizing procedure' (White 1984: 24) changes the events it describes and loads them with greater coherence and integrity.[388] As well argued by Frank Ankersmit, 'the historian's language is

[386] Thus the psalmody of the divine office, which used the Old Testament accounts of the victories of the Israelites, also played a role in familiarising the concept of warfare approved of and commanded by God, who could intervene on behalf of his chosen instruments of force (Riley-Smith 2003: 6; Erdmann 1977: 241–256).

[387] As also pointed out in Tamm, Kaljundi, Jensen 2011b: xxi.

[388] White mostly analysed this phenomena in connection to the ways narrativity granted coherence, meaning and structure to events and phenomena it represents (White 1984: 22–24). 'Narrative discourse, far from being a neutral medium for the representation of historical events and processes, is the very stuff of a mythical view of reality, a conceptual or pseudoconceptual "content" which, when

not a transparent, passive medium *through* which we can see the past … we do not look at the past *through* the historian's language, but *from* the vantage point suggested by it' (1994: 65). So we should avoid constructing big patterns and algorithms for the use of various performative practices during the expansion, as emphasised in connection to historical anthropology.[389]

Nevertheless, it seems significant to stress that the frontier chronicles show a remarkable concern for the commemoration of the past, as well as for the remediation and repetition of the events, heroes, and figures of this sacred past in textual as well as performative media. Thereby they appear to reflect a particular and active memory culture, where the principles of repetition and remediation played a significant role. Here, the recollection of the sacred past helps to create history about the current events, as well as to legitimate institutions, and form new identities.

Even though the concrete occurrence of specific rituals shall always remain in doubt, texts like Henry's chronicle well point to some significant features of this memory culture. They demonstrate a conviction that the frontier must keep up a constant contact with the sacred past by way of constant repetition and iteration. And secondly, those texts also suggest the importance of remediation in keeping up the contact with the sacred past, showing that the past needs to be remembered (and the contact to the sacred sphere uphold) through various media that stretch from history writing to liturgies and other kinds of symbolic practices.

The afterlives of expansion histories: Transmission and transformation

The two final articles in this thesis address the afterlife of medieval history writing. They analyse the transmission and transformation of the histories of the Christian expansion in a broad chronological framework, discussing the early modern, as well as the modern works. Geographically, those two texts limit themselves to Livonia. Thereby the Introduction also focuses on this area and does not discuss in detail the broader memory of the German conquest and colonisation of Eastern Europe, including the Wendic lands, which is covered in the three earlier chronicles discussed in this study.

However, the later conceptualisations of the Livonian crusades have also been affected by the changing views about the medieval German expansion at

used to represent real events, endows them with an illusory coherence and charges them with … meanings' (White 1987: ix).

[389] As pointed out in Geertz 1980b: 172–175. Thereby Geertz argued against the more traditional view of structural anthropologists (e.g. Claude Levi-Strauss) who followed the legacy of Emile Durkheim and believed that rituals receive their special character from over-arching semiotic structures. Geertz claimed that in every society, events contain stylistic and rhetorical features that lend them a distinctive character, and provide different manifestations of its informal logics (e.g. Geertz 1973).

large. Thus it should be stressed that especially since the nineteenth century, the legacy of the German conquest of the Eastern borderlands has also been strongly politicised. Along with the rise of German nationalism and the realization of the German nation state (1871), there emerged 'colonial fantasies' concerning the medieval expansion of the Germans into Eastern Europe, discussed in the beginning of this Introduction. At the same time, the rivals and critics of Germany also referred to the same historical process, arguing that the medieval *Drang nach Osten* should warn us against the contemporary threat of German expansionism.[390] Even though the majority of these discussions have touched upon the territories of today's Germany, Poland and Lithuania, these debates also left an imprint on the cultural memory of the Livonian crusades.[391]

For framing the following discussion, we use Aby Warburg's concept of the 'afterlife' (*Nachleben*). In his studies, Warburg was interested in the transfer of visual and verbal schemata across chronological and spatial borders.[392] Focusing mostly on visual culture, he examined the re-adoption of images and symbols in different epochs, cultures, and media. What made Warburg's work trendsetting was his interest in change. He abandoned the concept of tradition, which had been the key concept of cultural history and which had implied that cultural legacy was transmitted from generation to generation more or less intact. Warburg, in contrast, was interested not only in continuity, but also in change. He focused on the re-interpretation of symbols and schemata, arguing that these allow us to draw conclusions concerning the mentality of various cultures.[393] These questions also are central for the current study, as it addresses the transformation of medieval expansion histories over the long term.

As Warburg's ideas helped to stress the role of culture in the formation of 'collective memory', they were fundamental to the evolvement of cultural memory studies, discussed above.[394] Reflecting their Durkheimian legacies,

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[390] The evolvement of this concept in the mid-nineteenth century is discussed in Wippermann 1981.

[391] As also indicated in the beginning of this Introduction, the Baltic Germans took advantage of the idealisation of the medieval colonisation (Plath 2011: 263–282). At the same time, the criticism of the German expansion left an imprint on the late nineteenth-century Estonian and Latvian interpretation of the Livonian crusades; this critique was later re-enlivened and even radicalised in the Soviet historiography (Nolte 1976). Historiographical approaches to the medieval colonisation of the East-Central Europe are studied from a comparative angle in the volume Piskorski 2002.

[392] Warburg's written legacy is remarkably heterogeneous and sporadic. Thus rather his exhibition project, the so-called picture atlas *Mnemosyne* (1924–1929) is used to explain the concept of the 'afterlife'. It consisted of 63 panels, which presented variable visual materials and were aimed to illustrate how cultural memory – especially in the form of art works and culture – can survive for long periods of time, as well as cross chronological and spatial borders. For a brief, but informative overview of Warburg's contribution to memory studies, see Erll 2011: 19–22.

[393] As Warburg's most famous examples of this concern the modification of pagan antiquity over the centuries, particularly during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, his ideas also relate to the medieval appropriations of the classical texts and legacies, discussed above especially in connection to Adam of Bremen. Warburg showed that the pagan symbols and deities – Mercury, for example – survived in the Christian Middle Ages only at the expense of considerable transformation.

[394] As also explained in Assmann, J. 1995: 125–126.

the majority of cultural memory studies have focused on the age of modernity. Maurice Halbwachs originally coined the concept 'collective memory' for studying the formation social bonds in the modernity, arguing that the belief in the shared past substituted pre-modern social unifiers, such as religion or monarchy. The research concerning the afterlife of medieval expansion in the Baltic Sea realm is no exception, as it is mostly limited to the period, which stretches from the eighteenth century until the present day.[395]

Concerning the cultural memory of the conquest and conversion in the Baltic provinces, this study however suggests to explore it in a longer perspective, claiming that we should also pay attention to the mediating role of the earlier, pre-modern interpretations. The writings from the early modern period, as well as the antiquarian age appear to have functioned as a significant filter between medieval texts and their modern appropriations.[396]

For the cultural memory of the Livonian crusades and colonialism, one of the most crucial transformation periods was the sixteenth century, which was characterized by major political and religious clashes and changes. In medieval Livonia, no centralisation of power had taken place. Moreover, as the area's leading institutions of power, the Teutonic Order and the bishoprics were in an almost permanent conflict, these lands suffered from frequent internal struggles. The Reformation reached Livonia quite early and was accepted in the 1520s, but this did not fundamentally alter the existing organisation of power. It was the Livonian War (1558–1583), which changed the medieval system of government in Livonia. As a result of the war, where the rising early modern states competed for this territory, Livonia was divided between Catholic Poland, Protestant Sweden and also Denmark.

For the local history writing, the tumultuous times were a productive period. After the end of active campaigning in the late thirteenth century, not many historical works were written in medieval Livonia. A new boom started in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when there was produced a number of chronicles, or histories, as the authors now preferred to call their works.[397] Although the early modern period witnesses an overall rise in the production of literary culture and historiography, one must still take into account the growing demand for Eastern Baltic topics. The interest towards the Livonian War and the rise of the Muscovites created a market for these books also outside of Livonia.[398]

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[395] To point out some of the most extensive studies, Derek Fewster (2006) has analysed the transformation of the imageries concerning the ancient Finns and the Finnish crusades in the Swedish Finnish and Finnish national cultural memory.

[396] The recent studies concerning the afterlife of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia in the medieval (Selart 2011) and early modern period, as well as the eighteenth century (Donecker 2011) illustrate well the benefits of this approach that takes into account broad chronological perspective. As both of these studies point out that Henry's chronicle was little known and used in those times, they provide important background for studying the rise of this chronicle in the nineteenth century.

[397] The period has even been called the golden age of Livonian historiography (Raik 2004).

[398] Most successful of the Livonian historians being Balthasar Russow.

These works also show well the influence of the profound political and religious changes on the historical discourse about the Baltic, which was shaped by both local and more transnational factors.[399] The age of discovery creates a new fascination towards the savage peoples, as well as introduces a number of new images and discourses of the 'other'.[400] On a more local level, one of the most significant transformations concerned the representation of the native 'other'. As in Livonia no agrarian colonisation had taken place, this gradually led to a situation where ethnic divide started to match social divide. The elites were German-speaking, whereas the peasantry and the lower classes were 'non-German'.[401] For most of the Middle Ages, however, the defining features of 'otherness' were based on religion. Thus, when hegemony was at stake, the native peoples were labelled 'neophytes', 'apostates', or 'pagans' (Kala 2009, cf. 2001).

In the post-Reformation writing, ethnicity and social status become the main signifiers of the 'otherness' of the native peoples. This does not mean that the religious customs of the locals were not important in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but discursively the religious habits were disconnected from the agency of the natives. Thus, for example, when the Protestant authors speak of the superstition of the lower classes, they do this in order to discredit the legacies of Catholicism and not the people themselves.[402]

In the long perspective, this also affects the representation of the medieval 'other', as can be seen on the example of the St. George's Night Uprising (1343–1345), which is analysed in Article Five (Kaljundi [forthcoming]). While the medieval accounts represent the native rebels as pagans and apostates, then the writings from the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries depict them as Estonian peasants. Hence, the conflict is explained not in religious, but in social and ethnic terms.

In these early modern writings, nevertheless, the attitude towards the lower classes is ambiguous. These texts present strongly negative conceptualisations of the peasantry. In contrast, some of the authors also voice Humanist critique of slavery. Yet, as this critique also introduced detailed and lenghty representations of the exploitation of the peasantry, it also created a market for and exploitation of such violent stories.

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[399] Recently, Stefan Donecker has well shown the profound impact of the early modern social, political and cultural changes on the Baltic historical discourse (2015, see also 2009).

[400] Introducing, for example, the vast fascination towards migration theories (Donecker 2015).

[401] A classic study on the stratification of *deutsch* and *undeutsch* in Livonia is Johansen, von zur Mühlen 1973, while the problematics concerning these terms and their uses in the diverging medieval, as well as modern contexts are by no means unresolved (Selart 2014). Recently, however, Tiina Kala (2012) has strongly argued for the close association of the non-German with the peasantry.

[402] The already mentioned Livonian historian Balthasar Russow is a good example how Protestant authors used the representations of the superstitions of the lower classes for criticising the Catholic clergy. Many of the Catholic authors, on the other hand, represented the Livonian natives as genuinely good Catholics. As well shown by Michael Brauer (2011), in the early modern Prussia arguments about the superstitious, or pagan practices of the native peoples were also ardently used in religious debates.

The critique of slavery was revitalised during the Enlightenment.[403] Yet, differently from the writers of the early modern period, the Enlightenment authors also transformed the meaning of the German crusades and colonisation in this area. Introducing the positive image of the Livonian native peoples as the 'noble savages', the Enlightenment writers started to idealise their pre-Christian, or pre-colonial culture.[404] This re-evaluation of the 'other' was closely connected to the condemnation of the crusades, colonialism and slavery. The critique of the crusades, as well as the idealisation of the ancient native culture was also related to the fight of the bourgeoisie against the privileges of the nobility.[405]

The identification of the Livonian nobility as the heirs of the crusaders grew stronger namely in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since the Great Northern War (1700–1721), the Livonian territories had become the Baltic provinces of the Russian empire. The small German-speaking elite nevertheless retained their position as the holder of most of the land, estate and privileges. Along with the rise of nationalism, a more clearly pronounced national and historical identity of the Baltic Germans was gradually formed in the nineteenth century. The remembrance of the medieval conquest, crusades, and colonisation became one of the most important corner stones of this identity, echoing the German colonial fantasies, but also the overall importance of the Middle Ages for the German nationalism and cultural memory. For studying and recalling the glory of medieval Livonia, the community used a wide range of media, which stretched from source editing to the wide adoption of Gothic revival.

The promotion of a specifically German past of the Baltic borderlands became an especially crucial issue in the late nineteenth century due to the growing pressure of Russian imperialism and nationalism, as well as due to the spread of the Latvian and Estonian national movements.[406] These developments also gave rise to the emergence of competing interpretations of the German conquest, which included the Baltic German, the Russian and the imperial, and the Latvian and the Estonian versions of the medieval

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[403] An overview of the Baltic history writing during the Enlightenment is given in Neuschäffer 1986. Its core ideas were voiced by Garlieb H. Merkel (1769–1850), August W. Hupel (1737–1819), and Heinrich J. von Jannau (1753–1821). From among these, Merkel was most radical and influential in his critique of crusades and colonialism. Merkel's philosophy of history is discussed in Undusk 2000. The views of Merkel and his contemporaries on Latvian history are examined in K□avi□š 1998.

[404] An overview of the Baltic history writing during the Enlightenment is given in Neuschäffer 1986. The core ideas of the Baltic Enlightenment were voiced by three authors, Garlieb H. Merkel (1769–1850), August W. Hupel (1737–1819), and Heinrich J. von Jannau (1753–1821). Merkel was most radical and also most influential in his critique of crusades and colonialism. Merkel's philosophy of history is discussed in Undusk 2000. The views of Merkel and his contemporaries on Latvian history are examined in K□avi□š 1998.

[405] In a more general context, the close combination of the noble savage imagery and the fight of the bourgeoise against the nobility have been pointed out by Hayden White (1985).

[406] The Biedermeier-era Baltic German historiography is discussed in Bosse 1986, while Lenz 1986 examines the meaning of Old Livonia (*Alt-Livland*) for the Baltic German community, and Neander 1986 looks at the uses of the medieval past against the pressure of the Russian imperialism.

crusades and colonisation.[407] Highly critical of the crusades, the latter relied on the Enlightenment authors.[408] The Latvian and Estonian versions also are in the centre of Article Six (Kaljundi 2011). Focusing mostly on the changes and continuities in the appropriations of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, it analyses the conflicting interpretations in the context of the socio-ethnic changes and competition, as well as the legacies of colonialism.

Following the disintegration of the Russian empire after the First World War (1914–1918) and the Revolution of 1917, the Latvians and Estonians established their nation states. In the histories of these young nations, the criticism of the German conquest and colonialism remained important, but the meaning of the Latvians and Estonians fight against the crusades gradually changed. While previously these wars had been presented as a fight against the slavery, now they were re-conceptualised as a national fight for independence.[409] These ideas developed in tandem with the emergence of the visions about the ancient, pre Christian proto states of the Latvians and Estonians. Especially in the 1930s some authors also proposed more positive re-conceptualisations of the German rule in the Eastern Baltic[410], but at large the judgements concerning the role of the Germans in the Estonian and Latvian national histories remained negative and antagonistic.

The critique of the German colonialism became especially radical after the two countries were forced to join the Soviet Union (1941, 1944–1991). The highly negative and often very violent representation of the German crusaders and crusades was widely disseminated by the Soviet propaganda during the Second World War (1939–1945), yet the use of such imageries lasted well until the end of the Soviet rule in Estonia and Latvia. Yet, it is important to stress that the Soviet interpretation adapted a number of patterns from the previous national treatments of the Estonian and Latvian history, including the emphasis on the national fight against the Germans (Kivimäe 1999, Raun 1999). The impact of the Soviet interpretation of history, which combined strongly anti-German and Marxist-Leninist patterns with the earlier nationalist schemata borrowed from the interwar historiography, also offers one of the most significant explanations why the

[407] The relations between the emergence of Latvian nationalism and interpretation of medieval colonialism are discussed in Klavinš 2000. For a contextualisation of the rise of Estonian nationalism see Raun 2003.

[408] As well shown by Jaan Undusk (1997), and Julia Boguna (2014).

[409] As well shown in the Estonian case by Anti Selart (2003). The dynamics of the Latvian interpretations of the crusades, and the Livonian Middle Ages as a whole are examined in Klavinš 2001 and Misans 2008.

[410] Illuminating for such attempts is an article by the commander in chief of the Estonian army, general Laidoner (1938). The positive re-evaluations of the German period were also encouraged during the Nazi occupation (1941–1944), but the first sign of these views emerge already in the last days of the Russian empire, as then the Estonian nationalist Villem Reiman (1917) called to value more highly the benefits stemming from the contacts with the Western European culture.

nationalist and antagonistic picture of the Baltic history has survived until today.[411]

The interlinking of the Soviet and the nationalist interpretations also points well to an important feature of the Baltic historical discourse as a whole. Although it is characterised by conflicting and rivalling approaches, these different versions of the past are still closely entangled. The adaptation of a perspective that is broad in chronological terms, as well as includes the appropriations of different social and ethnic groups, enables us to study this traffic between different versions more closely and to get a more elaborated picture of this remarkably transnational afterlife of the medieval histories.

Again, the accounts of the St. George's Night Uprising offer good examples about this. As said, the early modern authors represented the participants of the revolt as peasants, yet conceptualised the peasantry negatively. Partly, this relied on the comparisons with the contemporary peasant wars especially in Germany. Throughout the following centuries, the uprising continued to be interpreted as a peasant war.

In the nineteenth century, the Baltic German historians defined the St. George's Night Uprising as a peasant revolt, and so did the Estonian nationalists. For the latter, it was particularly significant due to the close association of the Estonian nation with the peasantry. An explanation for this is to be found in the social context, as the rise of the Estonian nationalism coincided with major changes in the social status of the peasantry, due to the reforms of the 1850s and 1860s.

Therefore it is not surprising that the St. George's Night Uprising, understood as a peasant revolt, was turned into one of the most significant events of the Estonian national history. At the same time, the uprising is represented as the continuation of the fight that started with the wars against the crusaders. This connection brings significant coherence to the national history, as it has been often argued that it structures the past around a narrative of a national fight for freedom.[412] Next to this, the nineteenth-century treatments of the revolt introduced into the national history the 'peasant warrior', which appears to function as a kind of an intermediary figure that helps the audiences to identify themselves also with the ancient Estonians who fought against the crusaders – as the rebels of the St. George's Night Uprising were represented to continue the same fight against the crusaders.

Next to these factors the imagery of the St. George's Night Uprising should also be examined at the backdrop of even broader changes in the discourse of the peasantry. While in the early modern period, the image of the peasantry was turned remarkably negative, during the long nineteenth

[411] A good indication of this was the heated public debate that followed the publication of a new general history of Estonian Middle Ages (Selart 2012), which suggested abandoning such national concepts as the ancient fight for independence, and adapting a more transnational perspective.

[412] Later, also the nineteenth-century peasant unrests, as well as the Estonian War of Independence (1918–1920) were linked to this structure (Tamm 2008).

century, it was again charged with more positive meanings.[413] Major factors behind this relate to the development in tandem of modernisation and nationalism, whereby the peasant became the ideal embodiment of the nation, symbolising the traditional values and the continuity of the nation. These developments also reached the Baltic provinces, as already in the early nineteenth century the Baltic German intellectuals started to take interest towards the culture of the Estonian peasantry.

This also means that when the Estonian national activists started their promotion of a positive re-conceptualisation of the peasantry in the late nineteenth century, they could rely on pan-European, as well as local Baltic German examples. Already later, in the Soviet period, the continuing emphasis on the peasantry was supported by another major international factor that concerned the overall importance of class struggle in the Marxist-Leninist history, and the role of peasant revolts in that process.

It is interesting to note that another key element of the imagery of the native peoples of Livonia, the 'savage' goes through an equally major change.[414] In medieval writings, pagan barbarians are charged with negative meanings, as also discussed at length above. At first, these imageries started to change during the discovery of the New World and thereafter also during the Enlightenment, which creates the figure of the 'noble savage' that was also used in the Baltic provinces.

It has often been stated that with the help of the Enlightenment authors, the Estonian and Latvian authors constructed their vision of history in a binary opposition to the Baltic German interpretation. The Baltic German authors of the nineteenth century indeed were, as said, closely concerned with justifying the medieval colonisation and they also based their identity on the idealisation of the Livonian Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the Estonian and Latvian versions of the medieval crusades, as well as of the pre-colonial ancient history and culture of their peoples may be more dependant on the Baltic German legacies than it has been customary to admit. The comparison of these competing traditions shows that they operate in a universe of remarkably similar schemata, one example of which would be the *topos* of the peasant revolt. Their entangled histories bear the imprint of the colonial situation, whereby the young nationalisms oppose, as well as imitate the historical discourse of the colonizer.

Moreover, we could also argue that the Baltic German historians were no less dependent on the colonial situation, as well as on the discourses critical towards their versions of the past. Already in the early nineteenth century, we see significant anxiety towards the Enlightenment critique of colonialism. As the Enlightenment authors blamed the crusaders for subjugating the Livonian noble savages, the conservative side of the Baltic Germans thus had

[413] Next to texts, this development is well illustrated by visual culture, as synthesised in Burke 2001: 135–139.

[414] As poignantly also shown in Burke 2001: 123–139.

to stress even more strongly the barbarianism of the native peoples in order to justify the colonial enterprise of their forefathers.

At the same time, this also brings along another major change in the legitimisation of colonialism. In the medieval Livonia, as repeatedly stated, justification of conquest and conversion was based on religious arguments, which were greatly based on claiming the apostasy of the natives. In the early modern period, the authors started to pay more emphasis on the social and ethnic divide. In the early nineteenth century, while legitimising the crusades, the Baltic German authors started to emphasise more the cultural arguments, thereby justifying the colonial conquest as a civilising mission that brought culture to the barbarians. These kinds of arguments entail a response to the Enlightenment authors, but also reflect the impact of the transnational colonial imageries. The historical images by Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell, discussed in the beginning of this Introduction, illustrates this paradigmatic change well.[415]

In conclusion: Summaries and main conclusions of the articles

The Introduction, as well as the studies gathered into this thesis, examined the conquest, conversion and crusades in the Nordic and especially the Baltic Sea region, addressing the role of culture in the expansion process. The research analyzed the ecclesiastical history writing connected to the missionary archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen from the eleventh until the thirteenth centuries, focusing on a textual corpus that shares many similarities in terms of form, as well as content.

The study as a whole highlighted the role of cultural representations. It discussed the textual integration of the Nordic and Baltic peripheries into the Latin Christian discourse, comparing the way our authors have used citations and schemata borrowed from the classical, biblical, hagiographical and other authorities. On the other hand, the study also highlighted the importance that the chroniclers ascribed to various cultural practices in the process of conquest and conversion. Thus it examined how the medieval writers represented various symbolic practices to have been involved in the Christian expansion.

[415] Maydell's album of historical images as a whole, which openly counters the critique of the Enlightenment authors against the Livonian crusades, and sets out to glorify the good old medieval Livonia, illustrates this tendency well, as it takes great effort in establishing the cultural and civilisational difference between the Germans and the native peoples of Livonia (Kaljundi 2015; cf. Kaljundi, Kreem 2013: 24–34). Yet Maydell's images of the native savages also had a significant impact on the later Estonian and Latvian cultural memory, despite the fact that the young nations represented an opposing view of the Baltic history (Kaljundi, Kreem 2013: 46–59).

This study also tackled the dynamics of this historiographical corpus that concerns the Christianisation of the Baltic Sea region. There are signs of significant continuity especially in the use of biblical schemata, as for a long time this area stood in the centre of the developments that shaped the theory and practice of Latin Christian religious warfare. Yet, there still also are significant variances, especially concerning the impact of the crusade vocabulary and ritual, which become more coherent towards the late twelfth century.

Analysing what could be labelled as the historiographical anthropology of the conquest and crusade period, the study also raised the question concerning the limits of such an approach. Thereby it touched upon the recent debates in the study of medieval ritual, which centre on the subjectivity of their representations. It admits that while we cannot know whether one or another ritual actually took place, these texts still reflect the importance of symbolic practices in the Christianisation process. Secondly, the perspective of cultural memory was discussed as one way of approaching medieval rituals. This highlights the role of culture in the formation of memories, as well as the importance of recursivity and remediation in this process, as effective memories have to be repeatedly performed in various media. The chronicles analysed here also suggested the importance of using various cultural media, such as texts or rituals, in connecting the frontiers with the sacred past.

The historiographical texts from the Baltic Sea region also bear witness to an overall active memory culture on the frontier, which is far away from the centres, the sacred places and objects. In the beginning of this Introduction, we recalled the vast importance of the Holy Land for the medieval imagination. Next to the 'sense of rediscovery' reflected in the sources of the First Crusade (Morton 2010: 276), the crusades contributed to an overall rise of interest in the materiality of holiness. The flood of relics that accompanied the crusades also accelerated a trend towards a closer concentration on the historicity of the bible and the humanity of Christ (Tyerman 2007: 168).

Nevertheless, Maurice Halbwachs who has well encapsulated the significance of the Holy Land for Latin Christendom[416], at the same time also poignantly argues that Jerusalem, which the crusaders discovered, vastly differed from the image the Western Europeans had constructed for themselves. The renovation and rebuilding of ruins gave rise to new sacred places, which were much more numerous, but also more recent.[417] This illustrates well that memories tend to attach themselves to particular

[416] In his *The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land* (originally published in 1941); for conclusions, see Halbwachs 1992: 192–235.

[417] As argued in Halbwahcs 1992: 230–232. Thus, around 50 years after the First Crusade, Jerusalem had a complex of newly constructed chapels. The church of the Holy Sepulchre was likewise reconstructed. The reconstructions were further encouraged by the flood of Western pilgrims. Tyerman 2007: 216–217 brings fine examples how the contemporary accounts describe newly built sacred places. Cf. *Ibid.*: 167–169.

locations – a tendency that Halbwachs has called the 'localisation of memories' (1992: 324) – but it also suggests that the Holy Land frontier was characterised by no less active memory work. Thus, places can function as repositories of memory only by virtue of the stories that are told about them or by the rituals that are carried out there (cf. Rigney 2005: 21).

One could argue that the concern for the establishing an effective contact with the sacred was universal to Latin Christianity. Also elsewhere, sacredness was something that needed to be continually performed and recreated. At the frontiers arguably the connection with the sacred could be established by way of repetition rather than by reaffirming continuity.[418] Yet, the frontiers proved remarkably active and creative in adapting Christian discourse and practices. This is a good example of the agency of the frontier in the making of Europe. By adapting these schemata, they also contributed to developing Christian discourses and practices. In analysing these processes, it is important to avoid constructing any ideal models of expansion discourse, or rituals. Recycling and flexibility characterised much of medieval identity discourses and rituals. Around the medieval Baltic Sea region, one also does not find unified identity patterns, or homogeneous sets of practices.[419]

To a certain extent, what also differentiates the Baltic Sea frontier from the other realms is the integration of the neophytes and the related concerns about building up a Christian community at the borderlands. Many studies have emphasised that for the formation of the medieval European identity the exclusion of the 'other' was of paramount importance. The missionary frontiers suggest that the inclusion of the converted 'other' also was an important factor in this process. At the same time, the integration of the neophyte 'other' also added remarkable anxiety to issues concerning establishing the social bonds and Christian rule, which were weak and malleable due to their youth, as well as rivalries over hegemony. Good examples of this unease are the claims about the apostasy of the natives, found in all of the chronicles discussed here. Apostasy provided good justification for religious warfare and violent mission, as it allowed the use of force in bring the relapsed Christians back to the true faith. As also argued in Article Four (Kaljundi [forthcoming]), especially Henry's chronicle reflects a simultaneous concern for treachery and breaking the bonds of the new community.

This study has continuously highlighted the importance of re-performing the past. Yet, there is no need to look at the relationship between the past

[418] While discussing the emergence of monotheism, and the remembrance of the earliest biblical history, Jan Assmann also distinguishes between continuity and repetition.

[419] In connection to the formation of the image of Livonia in the thirteenth century, Marek Tamm argues that 'we witness here the construction of multiple, contingent, and conflicting "Livonias", each geared toward the respective needs of different audiences and social groups' (2011b: 189). In the same connection, he adds that 'the name Livonia did not remain static in the thirteenth century but was in constant flux according to the position of the writer, the expansion of the conquest, and the growth of knowledge' (Tamm 2011b: 196).

and present as one-directional, as they influence and depend on each other. The present never merely abuses the past and the past also needs the present appropriations in order to stay alive. At the same time, while commemoration enables the past to stay alive, every new commemorative act also transforms the meaning of the past.

As we saw, over the course of time also the discourse about the Christianisation of the Baltic Sea realm has gone through considerable changes. The study as a whole looked at the discourse of the Christianisation of the Baltic Sea realm in a broad historical perspective, also analysing the afterlives of that discourse in the later periods from the early modern period to the present day. This examination pointed to some major changes. In parallel to these transformations, the discourse about the conquest and conversion is nevertheless characterised by one remarkably persistent factor, which concerns the longevity of binary oppositions and the images of the 'other', which the medieval authors have originally coined on the basis of earlier, biblical and classical examples. While the meaning of various negative stereotypes changes[420], the opposition between 'us' and 'them' still remains vividly present.

This touches upon the ultimately negative characteristics of expansion and aggression. The Baltic crusades have often served as a reminder about the violence of the medieval expansion process.[421] Also the present study, while it researches the role of culture, does not wish to say that the physical realities of war can be reduced to cultural phenomena. Rather, it wished to explore the role of culture in the execution of power. Religious warfare at the Baltic Sea frontier was also influenced by the simultaneous development of spiritual culture and aggressiveness towards the 'other', as it has been discussed in connection to the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in general. It was indeed a time of great transformations in spirituality, which concerned both the more elaborated relations towards the body, as well as gave raise to more individual and emotional expectations towards religious experience.[422] However, the elaboration of spirituality and a new kind of an

[420] As also shown in Articles Five (Kaljundi, Klavinš 2011) and Six (Kaljundi [forthcoming]).

[421] Barbara Bombi has pointed out that the authors of the first influential new studies on the Baltic crusades, William Urban (1994) and Eric Christiansen (1997) were highly critical of the violence of these events. Thereby, she argues, they countered the tendency of omitting the intolerance and physical repression characteristic to the crusades that was prominent in contemporary crusade studies. (Bombi 2013: 753–754.) The new studies about the Christianisation of the Baltic realm have often omitted the criticism of Christian expansion, and sometimes even adapted a positive re-conceptualisation of the Europeanization. Many reasons are behind this, most notably the enlargement of the popularity of Western ideas in the Eastern Europe, the enlargement European Union, as well as a certain boredom, or deliberate wish to seek alternatives to the old, Soviet paradigms concerning the German *Drang nach Osten*. The omitting of the criticism has also been discussed in connection to new crusade studies.

[422] As well argued in the studies of Caroline Walker Bynum (1995) and Miri Rubin (1991) that in their different ways show the growing importance of materiality and the body in religious rituals and thinking.

affective culture went hand in hand with the increase of violence.[423] Concerning Europe as a whole, the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been related to the formation of a 'persecuting society', as put by R. I. Moore (2007). In the beginning of this Introduction, we already discussed the importance of the ideological, or physical and legal persecution of the 'other' for the formation of the identity of Latin Christendom as such.

Many of the discourses, and ritual schemata discussed here were closely connected to this new, affective, increasingly spiritual culture. On the other hand, they were also connected to the practice of violence, the conquest of land, and the annihilation of peoples who were conceptualised as the 'other'. The studies on the afterlife of the histories representing this process show well the importance of contextualizing these imageries. Closely linked to violence and hegemony, their non-reflective adaptation for modern needs potentially only creates new negative stereotypes and hatred.

[423] Jonathan Riley-Smith (1980) has analysed this phenomenon well on the example of the importance of ideas related to 'love' in crusade discourse.

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ARTICLE ONE

Linda Kaljundi, Waiting for the Barbarians: Reconstruction of Otherness in the Saxon Missionary and Crusading Chronicles, 11th–13th Centuries – The Medieval Chronicle 5, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2008), pp. 113–127.

WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS: RECONSTRUCTION OF *OTHERNESS* IN THE SAXON MISSIONARY AND CRUSADING CHRONICLES, 11th–13th CENTURIES[1]

Linda Kaljundi

Abstract

The article discusses the use of the rhetoric of *Otherness* during the expansion of Latin Christianity into the North from the ninth to the early thirteenth centuries.

Arguing that the European encounters with the *Other* worlds have always been mediated by representations and images, it explores the transition from the classical image of the barbarian to the Christian understanding of pagan barbarians, and examines the role of textual authorities and intertextuality in the new discourse of *Otherness*. In addition, it discusses the role of that imagery in linking the local realm to the universal Christian history and geography, and in establishing the concept of identity and unity, the *Christianitas* at the Northern frontier.

The study is based on four episcopal chronicles from the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen: Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (written around I075-76), Helmold of Bosau's *Chronica Slavorum* (around 1167-68, 1172), Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum* (around 1200/1211), and Henry of Livonia's *Chronicon Livoniae* (around 1224-27).

The *Other* has always had a place in the European imagination, inseparable from its function in the semiotic system and the language itself (Todorov 1982: 199-200). European encounters with the *Other* worlds have indeed always been mediated by representations and images. At first there were the Greeks who developed their concept of uncivilized barbarians, opposed to the urban culture of their own world (Hartog 2001: 57-67); and later those models were taken over by the Romans for describing the peoples living at the frontiers of their expanding empire. There is, however, no clear transition from

the classical image of the barbarian to the Christian one (Greenblatt 2003: 128). As the collapse of the Roman Empire and the consolidation of Christian kingdoms transformed profoundly the relationship with the old barbarian world, from the seventh century onwards the 'new barbarians' came to signify not only an uncivilised foreigner, but also a non-Christian (Geary 2002: 141-150). Thereafter this representational practice formed and established itself along with the high medieval expansion of the Latin Christendom.

The new image of *Otherness* is closely bound to the formation of a medieval concept of unity and identity, the *Christianitas*. Understood above all as a defensive term (Berend 2003), it opposed the Latin Christians to the peoples who lived at the Northern and Eastern frontiers of expanding Europe, as well as to the Saracens they confronted in the Iberian Peninsula and the Holy Land. At the heart of medieval Europe, it also excluded and marginalised the Jews, heretics and several other groups. This identity discourse was above all developed by expanding royal and ecclesiastical institutions, as well as military orders and the papacy. Even though cross-cultural interaction and alliances brought along a flexibility of identities and loyalties especially at the frontier areas,[2] this did not alter the rhetoric of saving Christianity from its enemies, when hegemonies were at stake.

In this article I will discuss the rhetoric of *Otherness* as used in the European expansion to the North, where, as Adam of Bremen has put it, 'opens up another world' (GHEP IV.21), and 'much may be seen that is entirely strange and different to our people' (GHEP IV.31). In this short examination of how this image of peoples and lands so utterly different from the Christian European world was exploited and expanded by the Saxon chroniclers, I claim that familiarity and authentification are the central issues for the construction of alterity. In the first section, I shall briefly introduce my source material as well as the Northern missions and crusades. After this I will look at the key objectives in the historical writing of the northern mission and religious warfare; and finally I will examine how the images of the Slavic, Nordic and Baltic peoples and lands were to answer to those concerns.

I

My textual corpus consists of four chronicles that were written by the clerics of the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, and present the Saxon secular and ecclesiastical expansion to the North from the ninth until the early fourteenth century.

The period the chronicles cover starts with the missionary wars that Charlemagne (742-814) held against the Saxons at the end of the eighth century (772-804). It is followed by the establishment of the new archdioceses (Hamburg-Bremen (831, 848/864) and Magdeburg (967/968)) at the frontier and their mission in the Slav areas in the ninth and the tenth centuries. These developments were paralleled by the gradual Christianisation and Europeanization of Scandinavia from the ninth until eleventh centuries, where the process of conversion resulted in a profound transformation of the social institutions. From the Second Crusade (1147-49) onwards, the campaigns held around the Baltic Sea became part of the crusading movement, and continued with the successful colonisation of the Western Slav areas by the Saxons and the Danes in the second half of the twelfth century, as well as the German and Danish crusades to Livonia and Estonia in the late twelfth and the early thirteenth century.

Adam (d. before 1085), canon of Bremen, wrote his 'History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen' (*Gestae Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*) in around 1075-76. The chronicle records the history of the archdiocese from its origins, and covers the spread of Christianity in the North from the ninth until the eleventh century from a clearly Saxon angle. Full of vivid and detailed descriptions of the Northern and Slavic peoples and lands, it marks the start of a more systematic representation of pagan barbarians in medieval historical writing.

Around one hundred years later (in around 1167-72) the missionary and parish priest Helmold of Bosau (d. after 1177) continued Adam's work with his 'Chronicle of the Slavs' (*Chronica Slavorum*). Relying heavily on Adam's model, he records the history of the mission to the North until his own time and focuses on his experiences in the mission, conquest and colonisation of the Slavs in the frontier bishopric of Lübeck (Oldenburg).

At the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Arnold (d. in around 1211-1214), abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Lübeck (since 1177), continued Helmold's undertaking with his own 'Chronicle of the Slavs' (*Chronica Slavorum*). The central aim of the text is to legimise the deeds of Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony (1142-1180) by presenting him as the sole protector of the Saxon mission. Yet, the chronicle also deals with a much wider range of topics: the politics of the German Holy Roman Empire as well as the Third (1189-1192) and Fourth (1202-1204) Crusade to the Holy Land.

At the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries another suffragane of Hamburg-Bremen, Riga, was established on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea (1186/1201). In around 1225-27, yet another missionary and parish priest, Henry (d. after 1259) wrote his 'Chronicle of Livonia' (*Chronicon Livoniae*) there, covering the first forty years of the mission and crusading in Livonia and Estonia from a strictly Rigan (German) angle.

All four chronicles hence describe a similar situation: the Christians invade, conquer, and convert a world perceived and represented as different. Therefore, their task is that of mapping, defining, and naming the *Other* world, and linking the story of its conversion to the Christian history and geography.

II

The crucial task of those founding narratives is to establish the history and identity of those young missionary bishoprics, to give authority to their claims, and to fix the boundaries of their territories. As these were the times of struggle over lands, peoples, and taxes between the sees, the Saxon and the Danish rulers (Lotter 1989, Jensen 1989), as well as of ecclesiastical rivalry between the Saxon and Northern churches (Ahrén 2004, Nyberg 1998), it is not surprising that legitimacy and authority are the central issues of those chronicles. These texts vividly show that medieval historical writing should be considered a genre that most often serves fundamental political issues (Bagge 1996), and that those issues largely determine as well as bring coherence into the selection and representation of events.

In medieval historiography authority relies greatly on an understanding of history as the fulfilment of Divine Providence, where

historical facts can achieve spiritual meaning if typologically related to the sacred past (Bagge 1996: 345-48) and treated as different manifestations of the same eternal truth, Sacred history (Mégier 2000: 625-29). Here the Scripture, writings of the Church Fathers, saints' lives, Early Christian and Roman authors provided the main models for historical writing. Moreover, while establishing an intertextual contact with the tradition, also the new text can gain authority and become a part of the sacred discourse (Mortensen 2005).

As Adam of Bremen was the first to link Northern history and geography to the Christian discourse, the text reveals his anxiety to cover it all with textual authorities. In his careful network of references and images he has combined the Bible, the Roman historians and geographers (Sallust, Solinus, Martian Capella et al.) and classical poets (Vergil, Horace, Lucan et al.) with the Early Christian (Orosios, Bede Venerabilis) and Frankish authors (Einhard, Gregory of Tours), the annals of monasteries (the *Annales Fuldenses* and *Annales Corbienses*) and saints' lives (the ninth-century *vitae* of Ansgar, Willehad, Rimbert et al.) (see Schmeidler 1933, Trillmich 1961). These are accompanied by references to documents and letters, and for the periods for which he has no written records to present, Adam claims to have relied on eyewitnesses' testimonies (see GHEP Praef., I.49-50, I.54, II.24, 60, 63, III.63).

Helmold of Bosau relied to a great extent on the authority of Adam and followed many of his 'worthy-to-be-imitated' (HCS *Praef.*) predecessor's own and intertextual patterns. The chronicle also includes modest indirect quotations from the Roman poets (Vergil, Ovid et al.) and historians (Sallust, Julius Valerius), Early Christian authors (Boethius, Sulpicius Severus, Paul the Deacon), and Eckehard of Aura (see Schmeidler 1911), yet Helmold's style is most significantly influenced by the *Vulgata*.

A similarly heavy reliance on the *Vulgata* as well as liturgical texts, and fewer and fewer borrowings from the classical and Christian authors, is visible in Arnold's and Henry's texts (Arbusow 1951, Bilkins 1928). Besides Helmold very little is known about Arnold's historiographical sources (Scior 2002: 226, 282), and almost nothing of Henry's (Arbusow 1950). However, for those two authors a new type of authoritative model was provided by crusading rhetoric.

Furthermore, the mission and crusading themselves were understood as an imitation of the past. Missionary ideals were based on the

imitatio of Christ's earthly life, the Prophets, Apostles and saints (Constable 1995: 148-49). Likewise the *milites Christi* were seen as pilgrims (Tyerman 1998: 55-56); and the crusading ideology also relied greatly on the idea of following the great deeds of the army of Israel in their wars against the infidels.

All this results in a high level of intertextuality that gives authority to the histories of those new and expanding institutions, as well as to their descriptions of peoples and landscapes, which so far have not been part of the Christian discourse.

III

However, what is the relationship between the above-mentioned key concerns and the images of *Otherness*, that is the chroniclers' colourful descriptions of faraway lands and peoples, demonic creatures, marvels and wonders? While previously those accounts have been explained in terms of interest in ethnology and exoticism (e.g. Smalley 1974), recently more interest has been paid to their functions in those founding narratives (Scior 2002). They illustrate not only how the authors have solved the problem of describing the un-described, but also, and even more so, how they have used *Otherness* as a rhetorical tool, or how and why they have come to tell the difference in the first place.

The *Other* is obviously the *sine quo non* for a mission and a crusade. When it comes to legitimising conquest, the first and foremost issue is that of establishing a radical difference between the conquerors and the conquered and, needless to say, here the first dividing line goes between Christians and non-Christians. Henceforth above all analogy and comparison are used to define the different, relying on textual authorities that provide not only a tool to explain the unknown through the known, but also a link to the Biblical, Early Christian, as well as Roman histories about encounters with the pagan and barbarian world.

The genealogy of the Northern pagan barbarians goes back to the tradition about the Saxon wars. It draws on the hagiographic sources about the early missions to *Germania* and Scandinavia, and on the annals of monasteries that tell about the persecution of Christians during the Viking assaults, which relied on biblical tradition and gave

many models for depicting the ferocity and cruelty of our enemies. Thence the chronicles present the wars of the German emperors against the pagan barbarians, relying on the image of Christian kings as the imitators of Christ in His royal role on earth, and the Christianisation of Scandinavian kingdoms, also with an emphasis on the saintly kings. Adapting these overall structures, slowly a local tradition emerges, employing the image of the cold and dark idolatrous North.

From the beginning the Christian understanding of paganism is accompanied by the Roman notion of barbarianism. The multiple use of the Roman legacy is most clearly manifested in Adam's chronicle, especially in his account of heathen Saxony (GHEP I.3-8), which relies greatly on Einhard and the hagiographical sources that were modelled after Tacitus' *Germania*. On the one hand, Adam presents the Roman model of uncivilised world, emphasising the primitiveness of the Saxon society and religion alike (GHEP I.7-8). On the other hand, he compares the Saxon gods, rituals and temples with the pagan Roman ones (GHEP I.7).[3] The classical pattern for describing barbarian religions as animism contributes also to the representation of the pagan barbarian space, which is dominantly characterised not only as uncultivated, but abounding with pagan gods and demons.[4]

The classical tradition slowly amalgamates into an overall Nordic model of writing about pagans and barbarians, together with its most prominent notions of difference, like the lack of social order, practice of human sacrifice and violent rites, and cannibalism, so that later authors can often use them as signifiers of the pagan barbarians without any longer references. Adam, however, still carefully refers to both traditions. When he speaks of the Norwegian magicians, who are 'so superior in the magic arts or incantations that they profess to know what everyone is doing the world over' (Vergil *Aeneid* xi.344-5, Juvenal *Satires* vi.402), and they 'also draw great sea monsters to shore with a powerful mumbling of words and do much else which one reads in the Scriptures about magicians' (Gen 1: 21; GHEP IV.31).

The Biblical models are present in all four texts, functioning as a link between the present history and the eternal Sacred history, as well as the universal model of fall, penance and redemption. To explain the misfortunes of wars and revolts, the most authoritative model was provided by the verse about the heathens coming into the Lord's

inheritance, i.e. Jerusalem (Ps 79), which the authors have used in their lamentations about either Jerusalem itself or Christian frontier settlements.[5] A similar model for describing the fall of the pagans is provided by the prophecy over the fall of Babylon (Ier 50). Moreover, mission and crusade in a place signified as wilderness and a vast solitude refers to the imitation of Christ, the Apostles, desert dwellers and saints, as well as the Exodus of the people of Israel.[6]

On the other hand, these models also indicate that the history of paganism is not opposed to, but it has always been a part of the sacred discourse, as the comparisons with the pagans of the Scriptures do not only give authority to the images of the pagans but also link the history of the Hamburg-Bremen church to the universal history of the faith.

These patterns are closely bound to yet another notable source, the hagiographic tradition, which gave a canonical model for re-presenting encounters with the pagan world, based on the imitation of earlier saints, Apostles and Christ. Here the martyrdoms and miracles as well as the apostolic religious valour of the founding fathers of the bishoprics contribute significantly to the authority of their new sees, which are 'established amid so much danger from the heathens' that they are worthy of 'being honoured everywhere by all the churches' (GHEP II.5). This gives a clear role for the *Others*, who are to provide either a proper persecutor or neophyte for missionaries and martyrs, thus becoming an integral part of those sacred stories. The pilgrimage tradition's focus on the symbolic elements of landscape (deserts, woods and seas) also brought coherence to the representation of the spatial scenery; it is best represented by Arnold's carefully structured pilgrimage and crusading landscape for his account of Duke Henry of Saxony's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, including all the key-elements of the symbolic space (sea, woods, and deserts) (ACS I.1-12; see also Scior 2004: 291-92).

By the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries many of the earlier models were amalgamated into the crusading rhetoric, which is more visible in Arnold's and Henry's chronicles. The representation of the knights of Christ as defenders of *Christianitas* being the central issue, the authors' most marked patterns relied on the wars that the Maccabees and great kings of Israel fought in the name of the Lord against the unbelievers (Riley-Smith 1987: 8). Henry describes a liturgical drama that took place in Riga in around 1204 as 'a prelude

and prophecy for the future, for in the same play there were the wars, namely those of David, Gideon, and Herod' (HCL IX.14).

Adapting the representation to an overall scheme, the texts focus on the main legitimising signs of campaigns, and here the rhetoric of a just war undertaken for a just cause also unifies the images of the enemies of the Lord. Moreover, these biblical models gave a pattern for enemies as well, who were compared to the Amorhites, Phlistines and other pagan tribes from the Old Testament.[7] The call to defend a small number of Christians from the threat of hostile barbarians, and the emphasis on a victory over a vast multitude through the hands of the few, is especially prominent in passages influenced by crusading sermons and proclamations, or reveal the rhetoric of the military orders (see Kaljundi 2005: 165-69, 181-87). The *Others*, however, are again divided between two functions, as among them there are neophytes, in whose defence the crusade is undertaken, as well as pagans and apostates from whom the new congregation needs to be defended.

All three later authors also emphasise the equality of the crusades to the Holy Land, Iberian Peninsula, and Baltic Sea region (e.g. HCS 59, ACS V.30, HCL XIX.7). As the expansion took place in a long line of conquests, withdrawals and reconquests, the model of Christian reconquest could be used for the newly Christianised territories of the North, which gave a universal just cause for a just war, i.e. saving the Christian lands from the heathens.

This reveals yet another feature eminent in all those texts, namely that the images of lands(capes) tend to overshadow those of people, often accompanied by an opposition between the fertility of the conquered and/or colonised land and the barbarian character of its inhabitants. Especially since lands are depicted as Christian far earlier than the people living on it, this reduction of the original inhabitants to the level of beast-like pagan barbarians is closely linked to the claims of the new rulers (see also Greenblatt 2003: 66-70).

Here the Israelian *Exodus* to the Promised Land of Canaan provided the most eminent legitimising model for colonial activities, developed most significantly by Helmold. Firstly, he depicts the once Christian colonies in the lands of the Slavs as a deserted wilderness. And thereafter, he goes on to describe carefully the destruction of the pagan sacred places, and the Christening of space via martyrdoms, baptism, churches, cemeteries, etc.[8] It reflects an understanding of the

Church as both a spiritual and a spatial concept (e.g. Mt 16: 18), closely bound to physical constructions (Lauwers 2005: 9-19). These material signs of Christian land yet not only reflect the idea that sanctity had to be physically present in order to effect a change (Ross 1998), but also help to create real existing power and mark both the ecclesiastical and secular subordination. Therefore the significant attention placed by Helmold on the transformation of space reflects the crucial importance of land possession during the conquest and settlement at the frontier.

At the same time the accompanying cerealization image (Bartlett 1993: 133-66) contributes significantly to a colonial story of people coming to cultivate the fertile, yet scarcely agricultural lands and fill them with towns and villages. Stating that 'the Germans came from their lands to dwell in the spacious country, rich in grain, smiling in the fullness of pasture lands, abounding with fish and flesh and all good things' (HCS 88: ref. Ex. 3: 8), Helmold establishes a link between Slavia and the Land of Canaan as well as the German colonists and the Israelis' journey to the Promised Land.

Thus this imagery provides manifold scenery for all the actors. Functioning firstly as a suffering landscape, the vast pagan wilderness underlines the perils the missionaries, crusaders and colonists had to experience before reaching the grace of God. Secondly, it represents the reward for those elected people: the new church and congregation that signifies the spiritual triumph of the priests, and the Promised Land that sacrilizes the colonial narrative.

Altogether these representations of martyrs, missionaries, crusaders, and colonists as the followers of the saints, Apostles and people of Israel contribute significantly to the collective identity of the missionary church and the new frontier communities, as well as provide authority and legitimacy for the ecclesiastical and colonial rule. As their histories also include a story of their opponents, persecutors of Christians, pagan and warlike tribes, as well as neophytes, they provide models and largely determine images for both 'us' and 'them'.

What about the overall dynamics in the representation of pagans and barbarians? Like the parallel images provided by textual authorities, the other features of both 'us' and 'them' similarly rely on binary oppositions. Presenting one with a characteristic and the *Other* with its

opposite, they help to create identity for both the describer and the described one. The Christian virtues and civilisation that exclude the pagans from *Christianitas* are applied to peoples after their subjugation to ecclesiastical rule, functioning as a sign of inclusion among the Christians. While the darkness of idolatry changes into the light of the true faith, also war changes into peace, grief to joy, pride to humility, ignorance to knowledge of the true faith, rebelliousness to obedience; in a similar way the space goes through significant transformations, becoming Christian, cultivated and safe. As Helmold has put it, then it 'was great gladness among all the people of Northern nations; cheer and peace began at the same time. The icy cold of the North gave way to the mildness of the south wind, the harassing sea stopped and the tempestuous storms abated' (HCS 110).

As is evident from these and other sources, the mission took place in a long line of conquests, withdrawals, and reconquests, and hence brought along changing loyalties between Christians and non-Christians. Yet, the written records represent an overall missionary and/or crusading call, and hold true to dualistic images, where all enemy's campaigns are interpreted as aimed against the true faith (Christianity, the Christians, and the Christian space (churches)). The signs of *Otherness* (vices, idolatry and heresy) are however applied also to the Christian rivals of the episcopal churches: the Saxon princes, Danes, Swedes, and the Northern episcopal sees.[9] Especially the crusading period shows the flexibility of the universal call to fight the enemies of the Christian faith, as the 'enemies' came to include also Christian peoples, like Orthodox Russians.[10] Moreover, as similar rhetoric was used also in power-struggles within Europe (Janson 2003), the signs of apostate and pagan should often be considered not to refer primarily to a non-Christian, but to issues of ecclesiastical subordination, or being disobedient to the Saxon church.

In conclusion, the ultimate issues that determine the representation of *Otherness* are the need to legitimise warfare, as well as secular and ecclesiastical rule over land and peoples, and to give the new bishoprics and colonies a history and identity that would link them with the Christian tradition. Written to support the claims of those young institutions, these texts reflect the territorialisation of episcopal rule, and can thus be compared to the rhetoric accompanying the development of royal power.

Even though a closer reading of these representations of *Otherness* can also reveal many local and personal experiences, their overall structure is part of a dynamic exchange between the concerns of individual authors and a wider network of images, references and metaphors. Thus this history and geography of the North largely results in a re-presentation of the biblical histories and landscapes that were imagined and re-imagined throughout medieval Europe. Reflecting the ideals, anxieties and needs of missionaries, colonists, crusaders, and above all else, of the learned ecclesiastical elite, they are to give coherence to these new communities. As in most frontier areas of high medieval Europe, these images of the *Other* primarily serve the making of European identities. Yet exactly for this reason one could also ask, to paraphrase Edward Said, whether this North is not almost a European invention, above all a place for re-acting and re-imagining great deeds and remarkable experiences, as well as for passing through spiritual landscapes (Said 1978: 1-28).

Notes

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[2] E.g. Berend (2001: 42-73); Lotter (1989: 269-73); MacKay (1989: 219-30).

[3] A similar pattern for describing the pagan barbarians as both classical barbarians and pagan Romans is present in Adam's description of the great temple in Uppsala (GHEP IV.26-28; see Janson 1998), or the Slavic temple in Rethra (GHEP II.18; see also Kaljundi 2005: 52-72, 107-34).

[4] This pattern can be followed throughout the textual corpus, from the Saxons who 'even regarded with reverence leafy trees and springs' (GHEP I.8, ref. to Tacitus' *Germania* 9, Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* 7) to the pagan gods of the Livs and Estonians, described as e.g. 'an image growing out of a tree' (HCL X.14, see also HCL XXIV.5).

[5] GHEP II.77-78, III.50; HCS 24, 31, and elsewhere in the corpus.

[6] E.g. GHEP II.14, III.63,67, IV.1; HCS 12, 47, 73; ACS II.21. For a similar use of the wilderness topos in the spiritual topography of the Cistercian founding narratives, see Bruun 2004.

[7] GHEP I.52, II.42, III.49, HCS 16,22, HCL X.10, and elsewhere in the corpus.

[8] E.g. HCS 84, 108; compare with HCL XXIV.1 and XXIV.5. For the Christianisation of space in Henry's chronicle see Jensen (forthcoming).

[9] For abundant critique of the avarice of the Saxon princes in Adam's and Helmold's chronicles, see Kaljundi (2005: 122-26, 144-49). Power struggles between the Christian rulers are also the focus of Arnold's chronicle, esp. in books II, III, V-VII. See also HCL XXV.2.

[10] E.g. HCL I.2, VII.4-5, IX-XI, XIV.2, XVI.2, XXVIII.4. Compare also with ACS V.30.

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HCS = *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Chronica Slavorum* = Helmold von Bosau, *Slawenchronik*. Trans. by Heinz Stoob. Darmstadt: Wissenshaftliche Buchgesellscahft; Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1963. Trans. as Helmold, the priest of Bosau, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*. Records of Civilisation, Sources and Studies 21. Trans. Francis J. Tschan. New York: Columbia University Press,1935.

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ARTICLE TWO

Linda Kaljundi, Medieval Conceptualisations of the Baltic Sea Region: Performing the Frontier in Helmold of Bosau's "Chronicle of the Slavs". – The "Baltic Frontier" Revisited: Power Structures and Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Baltic Sea Region, ed. Imbi Sooman and Stefan Donecker (Vienna: University of Vienna, 2009), pp 25–40.

Medieval conceptualisations of the Baltic Sea Region
Performing the frontier in Helmold of Bosau's "Chronicle of the Slavs"

Linda Kaljundi

More than often, after having read the sources about the medieval Nordic and Baltic Sea region, and about the mission and crusades to that region, I recall a passage from the American author William Faulkner's novel *Absalom, Absalom* (1936): "Tell me about the South… What's it like there? What do they do there? Why do they live there? Why do they live at all?"[1] I believe similar amazement could also characterise many of the medieval, or, likewise, modern Europeans' gaze at the medieval Northern borderlands and peripheries – a place where, as one its first chroniclers, Adam of Bremen, has claimed in his "Deeds of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen", written in the late 11th century, "opens up another world" (*alter mundus*).[2] This article aims to sketch the birth of the Baltic frontier in the Christian European discourse. What is more, in the context of this volume, it would also like to suggest that many elements of these earliest layers of the imaginary geography and ethnography survived well into the later periods, and that the medieval leitmotifs and themes influenced the representation and perception of the area also in the early modern, as well as modern period.

The conversion of the Nordic realm started in the ninth century.[3]

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1 Faulkner, William (1936): *Absalom, Absalom!* New York: Random House.

2 Adam von Bremen ([3]1917): *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler (= Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi [SS rer. Germ.] 2). Hannover / Leipzig: Hahn; book IV, chapter 21, p. 250. For an English translation, cf. Adam of Bremen (1959): *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan. New York: Columbia University Press [reprinted 2002].

3 For a good recent overview and conceptualisation of the Christianisation of Northern Europe see Bartlett, Robert (1993): *The Making of Europe. Conquest,*

Charlemagne's Saxon wars (772-804) were followed by the conquest, conversion and colonisation of Saxony. Thereafter the Saxons themselves established their missionary archbishoprics (such as Hamburg-Bremen, est. 831, 848/864, and Magdeburg, est. 967/968) at the Saxon-Slavic frontier, which were aimed at the mission to their eastern neighbours, the Western Slavs. During the 9th and 10th centuries the Christianisation of Scandinavia commenced, resulting in the gradual cultural and social assimilation of the Scandinavian kingdoms. Yet, it was only with the awakening of the Nordic crusading movement from the mid-twelfth century onwards that the process of assimilation and conversion started to meet success in the Western Slavic regions, Finland, Livonia, Estonia, and Prussia.[4] The crusades against the Western Slavs started in the mid-twelfth century, and resulted in the colonisation of their areas by the Saxons and the Danes by the end of the century. The Finnish crusades were primarily furthered by the Swedes, starting also in the late twelfth century (according to a legend St. Henry's legendary crusade to Finland took place already in 1154). At the turn of the century, the effort of campaigning and conversion moved to the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, with the start of the crusades to Livonia and Estonia (the canonical period of them being 1180s-1227), and the crusades to Prussia (authorised by pope Innocent III in 1217). In 1171, a papal bull to fight against the Baltic heathens was issued by pope Alexander III.

This article is primarily concerned with the coming of the crusading ideology to the Baltic Sea region. The first instance of adapting the crusading ideology to the Nordic frontier is documented in the so-called Magdeburg charter (1108).[5] Drawing on the analogy and at least partial equalisation

Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350. London: Allen Lane.

4 The notion of the Nordic, or the Baltic crusades came into being in the 1980s along with the spread of the so-called pluralist definition of the crusades. For the first studies on the campaigns in the Baltic Sea region as part of the broader crusading movement see Christiansen, Eric (²1997): *The Northern Crusades.* London: Penguin [first edition 1980]; Urban, William (²1994): *The Baltic Crusade.* Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center [first edition 1975]. For up-to-date studies on the Nordic crusades see especially Murray, Alan V. (ed.) (2001): *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500.* Aldershot: Ashgate, and Lind, John H. et al. (2009): *The Danish Crusades: War and Mission in the Baltic*. Leiden: Brill [forthcoming].

5 For a translation and an analysis of the text see Constable, Giles (1999): "The Place of the *Magdeburg Charter* of 1107/08 in the History of Eastern Germany

with the crusades in the Holy Land, it compares the Saxon lands raided by "the most cruel gentiles" with Jerusalem, and calls to "prepare yourselves as did the men of Gaul for the liberation of Jerusalem". This appeal, yet, produced no known campaign. It was during the preparations for the so-called Second crusade (1147-1149) that the goal of linking the wars against the Western Slavs (the Wends) to the crusading movement was met also in practice. This crusade was fought on three fronts: the Holy Land, Iberia and Slavia.

However, both the propagators of those campaigns, as well as its modern scholars would still face the unavoidable question: how does one grant meaning and significance to the experience of crusading in those far-off lands? At the first glance, the North seems to be an antipode of the Holy Land, the liberation of which was the aim of the first crusaders. The Holy Land, where the Saviour had left his Sepulchre as a memorial of His passion, and which was filled with many other sacred places and objects, was a spiritual threshold for the whole Western Christian world. There the contact with the sacred could be established by walking on the ground the Lord's feet had touched upon, and imitating His deeds as well as those of the biblical heroes. This is reflected well in a longing description of the aftermath of the First Crusade given by one Nordic chronicler, Helmold of Bosau: "And from that time on the divine praises were increasingly sung there and God was adored by the peoples of the earth in the place where His feet had stood."[6]

Yet one should not omit, as Maurice Halbwachs has poignantly argued in his "Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land", that the factual Jerusalem also differed vastly from the image the western Christian community and crusaders had constructed for themselves.[7] The renovation and rebuilding of the ruins – which can be interpreted also as "localisation

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and of the Crusades". - In: Franz J. Felten et al. (eds.): *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zu 70. Geburtstag*. Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt; pp. 283-99.

6 Helmoldi Chronica Slavorum [HCS], chapter 31. *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Chronica Slavorum* = Helmold von Bosau (1963): *Slawenchronik*, trans. Heinz Stoob (= Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 19). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. The translations into English are taken from Helmold, the priest of Bosau (1935): *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, trans. Francis J. Tschan. New York: Columbia University Press.

7 Halbwachs, Maurice (1992): *On Collective Memory*. Chicago / London: University of Chicago Press; pp. 230-234.

of memories" – lead to a new commemoration of holy places, much more numerous but also, more recent. To the Nordic peripheries, however, far from being a storage house of sanctity, all the sacred objects had to be brought from elsewhere, and the sanctity of the place yet needed to be produced. Or, to put it briefly, the Nordic frontier seems to be a place that needs conceptualisation first to a much greater extent.

Nevertheless, I would argue that namely this need for the conceptualisation of the North encompassed in itself great potential for creating an equally "thick" crusading frontier. During the recent years, many studies have been arguing for the innovative character of the crusades in the peripheries: pointing to their rhetoric and legitimating strategies, or legal measures and indulgences.[8] The question I would like to pose here regards the conceptualisation of the present through the performances and rituals that have a capacity to grant meaning and significance to the frontier experience, as well as to the space where it is carried through. Holiness is something that needs to be continually (re-)created, practised and acted out – and even more so, if there is an "empty" space before us. Thus, in the following I shall present a brief analysis of one Nordic frontier chronicle, asking whether and how such texts reveal an understanding that namely these various performances give meaning and legitimisation to conquest and conversion at the peripheries, and to the frontier itself?

However, before going to have a closer look into "performing the frontier" one would need to clarify how "performance" is understood in this article. The so-called performative turn in human and social sciences has given rise to a more flexible definition of performances, one that I would like to take advantage of in this article.[9] In a stricter sense, performance refers to formal rituals and festivals, clearly identifiable symbolic actions and events, which are set apart from everyday life and place participants into a special situation, into a state where the world as experienced and the world as imagined meet explicitly. Using the term in a broader sense, one could claim that all human behaviour is learned, and study even the informal scenarios of everyday life. As stated, I would like to stay in the middle, arguing for the

8 For a thorough recent bibliography see Murray, Alan V. (ed.) (2006): *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia.* Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio.

9 For the perspectives in applying the performative approach to history see Burke, Peter (2005): "Performing History: The Importance of Occasions". - In: *Rethinking History* 9; pp. 35-52.

fluidity and flexibility of performative quality in experiences and their representations.

During the recent decade, the studies into medieval performances and rituals have become a blooming field. Yet, the attempts to apply the performative approach on medieval source material have given rise to many questions: the most obvious of them being whether one can actually have access to authentic medieval rituals when they are all mediated to us by culturally and socially constructed narratives, or visual images. While I would sympathise with the claim put forward, among others, by the German historian Gerd Althoff that gestures and rituals had a crucial communicative role in medieval society[10], I would constrain this argument by Philippe Buc's critiques that the entirely subjective nature of our sources makes it possible to know that rituals were important ways of negotiating and disputing, yet prevents us from knowing how these rituals actually took place.[11] However, I would not restrict the representational potential of performances to this – textual representations and rhetorical appropriations indicate not only the importance of rituals for historical discourse, but also allow an understanding of performances' role in the experience and practices of warfare, and mission at the frontier. This is summarized well by yet another renowned scholar, David A. Warner, who argues that "the very fact that ritual exerted such a powerful influence on the historical imagination offers still other, potentially fruitful avenues of inquiry".[12]

Hence, suggesting that these avenues could be illuminating also for the phenomenon of the Northern crusades, I have, for this purpose, chosen to examine the "Chronicle of the Slavs" (*Chronica Slavorum*) that was written at the turn of the 1160s and 1170s by a missionary priest Helmold in his parish of Bosau, located in the missionary and crusading borderlands of the Oldenburg bishopric (the later bishopric of Lübeck). Having spent most his

10 For an outline of Althoff's arguments see Althoff, Gerd (2003): "The Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages". - In: Gerd Althoff et al. (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; pp. 71-88. His argument is most thoroughly put forward in Althoff, Gerd (2003): *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelater*. Darmstadt: Primus.

11 See, above all, Buc, Philippe (2001): *The Dangers of Ritual. Between early medieval texts and social scientific theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

12 Warner, David A. (2001): "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich: The Ceremony of Adventus". - In: *Speculum* 76; p. 260.

life at the peripheries, in Faldera and Bosau, Helmold is, indeed, an author whose work is characterised by a special kind of a frontier experience and awareness, or even a frontier poetry that places special value at the standing-on-the-edges.

This "part two" of the founding narrative for the Saxon frontier communities records the history of the Saxon mission at the Northern frontier from the earliest periods to his own times, and thus continues the Saxon conversion history of the Slavs, and even more so, Adam of Bremen's chronicle "The Deeds of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen" (written around one hundred years earlier, in the 1170s). The major part of it being dedicated to conversion history, the chronicle focuses mainly on the mission and warfare in the regions near to Helmold's own bishopric in the second part of the twelfth century. It finally finds its triumphant conclusion in the subjugation of the Slavs by the Duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion, which was accompanied by the conquest and conversion of the Rügen Island by the Danish King, Valdemar Seijr in 1168/9.

The chronicle could be regarded as a transitional work not only in the sense of recording a frontier experience, but also concerning its ideological core. On the one hand, it vividly exposes its close connection to the previous Saxon missionary tradition, bearing in mind the remembrance of the past preachers and kings at the Nordic frontier. On the other hand, the text also shows its knowledge of the brave new world and the new ideologies, practices and rituals brought along by the coming of the crusading movement to the North during the aforementioned Second, or, in these parts, the Wendish crusade in 1147.

Therefore, to examine briefly the capacity of the performative to conceptualise the process of being at the frontier in Helmold's chronicle, firstly, I shall point to the function of re-performance of the things past as the core ideological basis of this narrative. And, secondly, I shall go looking for the more detailed representations of these ritual re-enactments that grant meaning to "our" experience at the pagan barbarian frontier, as well as to explore their capability of transforming the pagan space into a Christian world.

(Re)performances as metaphors of social reality

Just like Helmold in his chronicle never fails to point, when a suitable occasion rises, to "the traces of furrows" hidden in the forests, "the numerous indications of that old occupation"[13], he not only could not, but also would not regard his own time without referring to the past, showing considerable concern for the remembrance of bygone events – as well as for their re-enactment in the present. In this text, overwhelmingly anxious with "the invention of a tradition" for the frontier, the understanding of the present as a re-performance of past – Roman, biblical, and hagiographical – encounters with pagan barbarians forms the core basis of the narrative representation of the conquest and conversion of the Northern peripheries.[14]

First and foremost this pattern relates to the re-enactment of the history of the Israelites, and especially the advent of Israel to the land of Canaan. This is most clearly made manifest when the fortunes of war turn against the Christians. Why does the omnipotent God refuse to intervene against the heathen barbarians, and why does He allow His people to suffer? Thus the Slav revolts were not only presented as punishment for the sins of men, but also projected onto the biblical history, as Helmold, for instance, remarks on the Slav revolt in the eleventh century: "He who of old wiped out in the sight of Israel the seven tribes of Canaan, and kept only the strangers in whom He tried Israel – He, I say, willed now to harden small part of the heathen through whom He might confound our perfidy."[15] Therefore, also the activities of the antagonists are interpreted as a re-enactment of the biblical past. This includes not only the constant mentioning of "the violence of the persecution" against "the people of God"[16] – but whenever the Slav revolt gains success, Helmold explains with resignation: "'For the

13 HCS 12.

14 Elsewhere, I have discussed the Nordic chroniclers' presentation of the present as an imitation of the past also from a broader perspective. See e.g. Kaljundi, Linda (2008): "Waiting for the Barbarians: Reconstruction of Otherness in the Saxon Missionary and Crusading Chronicles, 11th–13th Centuries". - In: Erik Kooper (ed.): *The Medieval Chronicle*, Vol. V. Amsterdam /New York: Rodopi; pp. 113-127.

15 HCS 16.

16 HCS 26.

iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full,' [quote from Gen 15:16] nor had 'the time to favour' [quote from Ps 102:13] them come."[17] This refers to the ancient inhabitants of the land of Canaan before the advent of Israel, characterised by their idolatrous rites and warlike character, yet being a people doomed to be supplanted by the Israelites.

In addition, the destruction of the Saxon strongholds by the Slavs is presented as the fulfilment of the biblical prophecies, as, for instance, with the destruction of Hamburg and Schleswig by the Slavs in the eleventh century: "There was fulfilled for us the prophecy which runs, 'O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance; Thy holy temple have they defiled' [Ps 79:1], and the sayings which prophetically bewail the destruction of the city of Jerusalem."[18] This, however, not only contributes to the image of the frontier settlements as a new Jerusalem, and the rhetoric of the re-conquest, but also creates a link to the crusading movement, and the universal enlargement of Christianity, as also in Helmold's depiction of the crusades – not surprisingly, though – the *topos* of liberating the Holy City from the barbarians rises prominent, as when he retells how the crusaders "regained Nicaea, Antioch, and many other cities that were held by the barbarians. Thence they went on and liberated the Holy City from the barbarians".[19]

Rites of passage

Next, I would like to look at Helmold's more detailed representations of what we might call the frontier performances. It is not surprising that these modes of personal behaviour, likewise, rely on the imitation of the authority figures of the same past stories; and that, therefore, they likewise share one of the basic characteristics of any performance, or ritual: they are to vocalize the past, and hence to conceptualise the present. The missionaries follow the deeds of the past great missionaries, such as St. Ansgar, and, needless to say, Christ, the Apostles, saints, or prophets; the warriors and secular rulers walk in the footsteps of the great kings and warlords from the Christian past, as well as from the Old Testament. Yet, it could also be argued that namely the more concrete representations of the individual or group "re-

17 HCS 22.
18 HCS 24.
19 HCS 31.

enactments" reveal an understanding that, next to the textual contact with the sacred (expressed in the abundant quotations from the textual authorities), the continuation and imitation of the sacred past also needs to be made manifest through re-performing it.

However, if one looks at how one's place in history is created in this text, the ideal of the frontier experience not only follows the biblical and saintly heroes in their dwelling and fighting in the diabolic deserts, but one might suggest to interpret it also as corresponding with the anthropological models of the rites of passage (as initially suggested by Arnold Van Gennep, and later extended most notably by Victor Turner for analysing a wide range of social phenomena): separation from the usual social setting, then being "neither here nor there" (the liminal stage), and thence the confirmation of the social status.

Indeed, Helmold's representation of going into the Northern peripheries accords well with the modes of liminality, which characterized also the contemporary pilgrimage mentalities: cutting family and kinship ties, giving up permanent residence and worldly goods, and adapting to a lifestyle according to the ideals of the *communitas*.[20] A stay in Slavia means setting oneself "in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, in a land of waste howling wilderness".[21] This is, yet, an exile understood as an ideal, as suggested also by Helmold's praise of the priest Deilaw "whose spirit thirsted for labours and dangers in the preaching of the Gospel", was then "sent into a den of thieves among the Slavs" and thence "dwelt among them, serving the Lord 'in hunger, thirst and nakedness' [quote from Deut 28: 48]".[22]

The main agents of the narrative were the missionaries, however, the community of those "who laboured for God in the Northern parts"[23] in the exile includes also the warriors and secular rulers and, later, crusader-pilgrims, as well as the colonists. Namely the colonists – as I shall argue shortly – will also close this biblical re-enactment circle, which at the end of the chronicle turns out to be the imitation of the liminal experience *par*

20 An interpretation suggested by Klaniczay, Gabor (1990): *The Uses of Supernatural Power. Transformations of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, Polity Press; pp. 40-41.

21 HCS 27.

22 HCS 84.

23 HCS 101.

excellence, the Israelites' journey to the Promised Land.

Performing liminality

However, before the experience comes to its end and triumph in the rise of the new colonies, it could be worth asking how this frontier abounding with liminality came into being in the first place. Entering that stage and space is clearly marked by going into the outside of the Christian world, and crossing the physical barriers, such as the Elbe river, or the sea, and, preferably, also the dense woods. After the conversion of Saxony, "the way was prepared across the Elbe for the preachers of the Word of God"[24], and I would argue that a way needed to be prepared indeed, and, moreover, that a frontier needed to be performed properly.

First and foremost, this encompasses not only Christian, but also opposing pagan performances. Helmold's abundant presentation of counter-rituals directed against Christianity – even if it does not leave us any clear or easy way to establish how, or whether the pagan rites actually took place – reveals an understanding according to which not only sanctity, but also the diabolic has to be made manifest, and performed. This is most commonly done by arguing that the counter-rites of Christianity such as giving of oracular responses, the casting of the lots and even more so "the annual offerings of sacrifices" (a custom Helmold ascribes e.g. to the cult of Redigast[25]) regularly take place in Slavia. However, an even more important position is gained by the rituals of reversal, or of apostasy, the most prominent example of which is the much-debated cult of Svantevit on the Rügen Island[26], the inverted ritual of excellence described several times in this chronicle. In Svantevit's great temple, "the most elaborate rites", the giving of oracular responses, and the casting of the lots take place; and,

24 HCS 3.

25 HCS 21.

26 For the debate to which extent Helmold's and also the Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus' claims on the heretical nature of the cult exercised on the Rügen Island can be taken with face-value see Janson, Henrik (2003): "What Made the Pagans Pagans". - In: Rudolf Simek and Judith Meurer (eds.), *Scandinavia and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. Papers of the 12th International Saga Conference (Bonn, Germany, 28th July – 2nd August 2003).* Bonn: Univ.; pp. 250-256.

likewise, "annual sacrifices are duly performed"[27], "among their diverse offerings, too, the priest was accustomed at times to sacrifice a Christian"[28]. After their initial conversion, the inhabitants of Rügen, according to the Saxon tradition, turned the cult of Christianity into a cult of St. Vitus, to whose honour an oratory and the province itself was dedicated in the tenth century. Yet, as this is presented as turning away from orthodox Christianity, and hence as apostasy and heresy, it enables the author to argue that the error of the islanders "became worse than the first [i.e. 'original paganism']"[29].

The representation of the Slav apostasy, or heresy, as it has been argued most convincingly, is of paramount importance in legitimising the forced conversion of the Slavic people, which, should they have been presented as mere pagans, would have run against the canon law. Yet, it could also be argued, to follow the ideas put forward by the anthropologist Mary Douglas, that when a society is subject to external pressures, exposed to boundaries and margins – as at the frontier – the anxiety over the ritual danger, and "ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions" tend to rise crucially.[30] It is only by exaggerating the difference that a semblance of order is created. As it deals with that which is not with it, part of it and subject to its laws, is potentially against it, the main function of purifying and punishing transgressions yet is to impose a system on an inherently untidy experience.

Moreover, these rituals of separation, erasure and purification also have a special role in conceptualising the frontier, as well as in legitimising and linking it to the authoritative tradition – modelled, for example, on the demolishing of the heretical idols by the Israelites, or the hacking of trees by St. Boniface: Danish king Valdemar Seijr during the conquest of the Rügen island "had that most ancient image of Svantowit [...] brought out and ordered a rope to be fastened around its neck. Then he commanded that it be dragged through the midst of the army in the sight of the Slavs and that it be hacked to pieces and cast into fire."[31]

27 HCS 6, 36.

28 HCS 108.

29 HCS 108.

30 Douglas, Mary (2004): *Purity and Danger: An analysis of the concept of pollution and taboo*. London / New York: Routledge; p. 5 [first edition 1966].

31 HCS 108.

This, however, has already led us to the performances of possession taking, and, next to these negative, one can also find representations of the positive rituals of subjugation. The prominent sanctification rituals that manifest the conversion of the frontier include the miracles performed by the missionaries, "confirming the word with the signs following" (quote from Mark 16:20)[32], and the martyrdoms, the blood and relics of which sanctify the land. Interpreting almost any violent death of a frontier Christian as martyrdom, this enables Helmold to claim: "In fine, there were so many martyrs in Slavia that they can hardly be enumerated in a book"[33]. They even have a performative quality, as the martyred priests in Oldenburg (during the Slav revolt in the eleventh century) are said to have made "a spectacle [...] to angels and to men" (quote from I Cor 4: 9)[34].

The declared aim of those spectacles, the conversion of the people, is treated only briefly in the chronicle, limited to notices on "receiving the grace of baptism"[35], and "adopting to the worship of the true God"[36]. Compared to the baptism of groups or individuals, the rituals linked directly to the conversion of space and landscape rise prominently – a feature that can be explained by the context of conquest and colonisation, the rhetoric of re-conquest, as well as by the lack of local sacred geography. Here one can also point to several other positive performances of possession taking: such as the erection of the churches and monasteries, as well as dedicating them in honour of the saints. Yet the feat that "the worship of the house of our God might be established in a crooked and perverse nation"[37] is bound not only to the sacred material constructions, but also to embodiment: the presence of the "men and women who served God"[38] in those dwellings, as well as to the liturgies presented to be celebrated there. The anxiety related to the space-bound rituals is revealed also in the keen mentioning of the transformation of burial rites and cemeteries, as when Count Adolph "bade the Slavic people transfer their dead for burial in the churchyard". The Slavs were, on the same occasion, "for the future forbidden to swear by trees,

32 HCS 40.
33 HCS 17.
34 HCS 17.
35 E.g. HCS 84, and often elsewhere.
36 E.g. HCS 108, and often elsewhere.
37 HCS 108.
38 HCS 14.

springs, and stones"[39].

However, the ending of the chronicle does not stress the completion of the conversion and civilising process of the Slavs, but rather the abolishment and replacement of the old rituals and old space by the new people. The Christian colonists "came and dwelt there; and the Slavs little by little failed the land"[40]. The story of how "all the country of the Slavs [...] a region once [...] almost deserted, was now through the help of God all made, as it were, into a colony of the Saxons"[41] completes this biblical re-enactment circle, marking the end of the Exodus, and the arrival to the Promised Land. The praise of how "the Germans came from their lands to dwell in the spacious country, rich in grain, smiling in the fullness of pasture lands, abounding with fish and all god things"[42], echoes the verse from Exodus: "I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey."[43]. The "people strong and without number" who "have come [...] and taken possession of the territories of the Slavs [...] built cities and churches and grown rich beyond all estimation" (quote from Ioel 1: 6)[44] – as Helmold praises the colonists – bring the frontier community's rite of passage to a conclusion. They end the liminal state, and start the reincorporation, signifying the start of a period during which the new social status is confirmed.

In conclusion: Ritual and memory

To conclude with, one may ask which features of one or the other performative act, and the way that they are conceptualised, make them suitable objects for symbolisation. On the one hand, the adaptation of this tradition- and hence imitation-bound ritual symbolism reveals the constraints coming from the conquest and missionary context, as it is ultimately concerned with possession taking, legitimisation of the new rule, and identity. On the other hand, relying on the idea put forward by

39 HCS 84.
40 HCS 84.
41 HCS 110.
42 HCS 88.
43 Exodus 3: 8.
44 HCS 89.

renowned anthropologist Victor Turner, a pioneer of the performance theory, that ritual symbols are part of a process:rt of a process: it is not simply the capacity of the conceptualisation of the objects in which we find an explanation of their presence, but it is their transformative potential during the process of ritual.[45] Rituals tend to have a purpose, and namely this capacity of substitution and transformation, aimed at the inclusion and domestication of other lands and peoples, contributes significantly also to the representation and rhetoric of the Northern frontier, or – without any established guidelines for this periphery at hand – even to the innovative quality of this discourse.

Even though the missionary and crusading performance and rhetoric relied on more or less established patterns, the crusading in the Northern peripheries was still in a need of conceptualisation, as well as of adaptation. In this context, I believe Helmold's chronicle could be regarded as a testing ground, or a kind of a bridge that amalgamates both the new and old tools for conceptualising and legitimising conquest and conversion, which, considering also the centrality of the Lübeck area in the later Baltic crusading, could and should have had an impact on the developing local tradition. Helmold, as well as the authors and frontier conquistadores before him, created many local traditions which had the potential to amalgamate into the local crusading tradition, as well as to create, in stead of Jerusalem, a small local threshold of holiness: be this memory culture manifested either in textual tradition, or personal examples of the local heroes and villains, or in the landscape, material constructions, as well as in liturgy – or in mnemonic devices encoded in the rituals.

In this process of "the historisation of the frontier", or active memory making, which relies on an understanding that re-performing the past also stands for (re)affirming the continuity and coherence of the present, of shared experience and identity, Helmold has succeeded most well: his re-performances rather cleverly establish the relationship between past, present, and future, entailing promises of the future, respect for the past, and – religious symbolism for the present[46]. Even more so, I would suggest

45 See, above all, Turner, Victor (1995): *The Ritual Process: Structure and anti-structure*. Chicago: Aldine [first edition 1969].

46 Here I'm partly drawing on Maurice Bloch's interpretation of the function of rituals. See Bloch, Maurice (1998): *How We Think They Think: Anthropological approaches to cognition, memory, literacy*. Oxford: Westview.

that Northern frontier crusading poetics have long and complex roots – and that these roots are often reflected also during the later periods, as several other papers presented in this volume show.

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ARTICLE THREE

Linda Kaljundi, (Re)performing the past: Crusading, history writing, and rituals in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia. – The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds: Non-Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen and Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen, with Alexandra Bergholm (Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces, 3) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 295–338.

(Re)Performing the Past: Crusading, History Writing, and Rituals in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia

Linda Kaljundi

A few years ago a Nokia advertisement ran in every cinema in Helsinki in which the British actor Gary Oldman encouraged people to make films out of their everyday moments to tell a story and advised them to include in it a catchy score, spectacular location, compelling dialogue, love, conflict, mystery, a chasing scene, etc. The clip ended with him quoting from Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (II. 7), 'All the world is a stage, and all the men and women are merely players'. This, needless to say, above all echoes the modern understanding of (re) living 'a life worth remembering, a drama worth having lived for'.[1] However, in this article, I would like to claim that what works for selling telephones with integrated film cameras can also be useful for studying medieval historical writing.

During the past decade, research into performances, rituals, and gestures has become increasingly topical among historians. Recently the British cultural historian Peter Burke has even called for a 'performative turn' in historical and cultural studies.[2] This semiotic approach to culture as a symbolic system has been greatly inspired and influenced by the works of anthropologists. In 1973, Clifford Geertz claimed in his seminal work *The Interpretation of Cultures* that 'culture is a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge

[1] As aptly phrased in Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, p. 144.

[2] Burke, 'Performing History'.

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The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds, ed. by Lars Boje Mortensen and Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, with Alexandra Bergholm, MEDIEVAL IDENTITIES: SOCIO-CULTURAL SPACES 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 295–338 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.MISCS-EB.1.100760

about and attitudes toward life'.[3] Since the function of culture is to impose meaning on the world and make it understandable (creating the conceptual world in which the subjects live), it consists of socially established structures of meaning, which also includes learned and symbolic behaviour. In medieval studies, this approach has been integrated and furthered by historical anthropologists, including Jean Claude Schmitt, Keith Thomas, Carlo Ginzburg, and others. Recently the works of the German medievalist Gerd Althoff have also pointed to the dominantly communicative role of medieval rituals and gestures, especially in the political life of the period: focusing mainly on royal and imperial rituals, he has argued that medieval public communication was ritual and demonstrative, demanding participation and audience.[4]

The performative acts can be extremely valuable for studying the mental world of any society: the patterns of life and thought, and the implicit mental rules governing social interaction. However, with regard to the medieval period, many difficulties still remain in applying the performative approach to the source material. Whereas the records of modern anthropologists cannot be taken for an objective report, the recollections of ritual action in medieval narrative and other texts, visual arts and music stretch the problematic relationship between perception and representation even more. On the one hand, it needs to be asked whether one can actually have access to medieval rituals since they are ultimately mediated by culturally and socially constructed narratives. On the other hand, one can also raise the question about the possibly strong structuring role of performances in the representation of historical events in narrative form (also as authoritative topoi).

Regarding the representational potential of the historiographical descriptions of performances, I would like to take as a starting point the ideas put forward by the American medievalist David A. Warner. In analysing the dichotomy between rituals as 'normally real' chronological events and remembered events, he at first admits that 'because the memories of medieval churchmen, our chief informants, were both malleable and subject to partisanship, the degree to which an account of a ritual corresponds with the actual event must always remain in doubt'.[5] However, he then continues: 'in any case, whether the ritual in question actually occurred or not, the ability to impose a particular reading on it implied a kind of power or authority'.[6] Thus, even when fac-

[3] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 89.

[4] For an introduction to his arguments, see Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale*.

[5] Warner, 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich', p. 256.

[6] Warner, 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich', p. 256.

ing the uncertainty resulting from the above-mentioned dichotomy, 'the very fact that ritual exerted such a powerful influence on the historical imagination offers still other, potentially fruitful avenues of inquiry'.[7] In this article, I shall examine these avenues by focusing on the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia and discussing the role of the performative in the Christianizing as well as in the memory-making process.

The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia: A Founding Narration for the Frontier

The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (*Chronicon Livoniae*) is a Baltic crusading chronicle that records what we might call the canonical period of the Livonian and Estonian crusade in around 1186–1227, that is, during the heyday of the crusading movement. The text was written between 1224 and 1228, likely by a local parish and missionary priest, Henry, who, after his arrival from Saxony to Livonia around 1205, had been an active partaker in the conquest and conversion.[8] The Chronicle, written in 'the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ who wishes His faith and His name to be carried to all nations', as 'through Him and with His cooperation and approval, these things were done',[9] is to record 'the many and glorious things [that] happened in Livonia at the time the heathen were converted to the faith of Jesus Christ'.[10] Its representation of the events is dominated by the theme of 'the enlargement of faith among the

[7] Warner, 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich', p. 260.

[8] Henry is likely to have been born in around 1187–88 in Saxony, near Magdeburg; see Arbusow, 'Das entlehnte Sprachgut', p. 100; Johansen, 'Die Chronik als Biographie', p. 9; Bauer, 'Einleitung', pp. vi–ix. He was educated in Germany, probably at the monastery school at Segeberg under the tutorage of Abbot Rothmar, the brother of Bishop Albert of Riga (Johansen, 'Die Chronik als Biographie', p. 11). Henry came to Riga with Bishop Albert in around 1205 and was ordained a parish priest in 1208. He wrote his Chronicle between 1224 and 1226, and thereafter added one final chapter likely in 1227–28. Henceforth Henry remained a parish priest and died some time after the year 1259. For the latest research on the Chronicle, see Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen, *Crusading and Chronicle Writing*.

[9] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIX. 9: 'ad laudem eiusdem domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui fidem et nomen suum portari vult ad omnes gentes, ipso cooperante et confirmante, per quem talia sunt operata', citing John 20. 30–31; Acts 9. 15; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 237).

[10] 'multa quidem et gloriosa contigerunt in Lyvonia tempore conversionis gencium ad fidem Iesu Christi' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIX. 9; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 237).

pagans' ('fidem dilatare in gentibus'),[11] which reflects the territorialization of the notion of *Christianitas* in medieval historical writing during the period of Christian expansion, if one is to follow the idea coined by the British medievalist Robert Bartlett in his influential and innovative work *The Making of Europe*.[12] Thus, next to being an exemplary crusading and missionary chronicle, Henry's Chronicle was designed as a founding narrative of the new bishopric, Riga, and aimed at establishing its legitimacy and identity.[13] Therefore it illustrates well what the American historian Patrick J. Geary has recently called the functionality of historiography in the construction of regional identities and in establishing the connections between things, persons, texts, and institutions.[14] This task included the construction of both new Christian identities at the frontier and of the otherness of local 'pagan' peoples. In studying how the medieval writers constructed their past at the edges of the known world, scholars have explained it as a process of establishing new self-identifications that would enable the inclusion of the local realms into the Christian scheme of things by integrating local historiography into universal history and local geography into the universal Christian space.[15] Furthermore, as Geary has remarked in the same connection, the authors' strong dependency on textual authorities reflects the pursuit of legitimacy and consolidation in a world lacking an alternative political hegemony.[16] Yet I believe to this one should add an aspect emphasized by Lars Boje Mortensen in the context of medieval Nordic history writing: in studying these founding narratives one should avoid the two-layer model where the primary field of politics simply uses or manipulates the secondary socio-cultural field (for example, religion or historical culture). Instead, we could study history as cultural memory that serves a similar function with the other modes of activating the dialogue with the past (such as, for example, ceremonies or liturgy).[17]

[11] Arbusow, 'Das entlehnte Sprachgut', pp. 12, 127–29.

[12] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 243–68.

[13] As has also been noted by Arbusow, *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 5; see also Kattinger, 'Identität und Integration im Ostseeraum', pp. 118–19.

[14] Geary, 'Reflections on Historiography and the Holy'.

[15] For an expansion of this idea on the example of twelfth-century Scandinavian writing, see Mortensen, 'The Language of Geographical Description'. I have discussed the intertextual constructions of the new worlds in the Latin writings about the Saxon-Wendish frontier in Kaljundi, 'Waiting for the Barbarians'.

[16] Geary, 'Reflections on Historiography and the Holy'.

[17] Mortensen, 'Sanctified Beginnings and Mythopoietic Moments'.

Returning to Henry's narrative, it begins in the 1180s with the arrival and debated 'peaceful mission' of Meinhard, an Augustinian monk from Segeberg (Saxony) who also became the first bishop of Üxküll (Latv. Ikšķile) (1186–96).[18] The Chronicle then records the first crusade to Livonia in 1198 that was led by the next Bishop of Üxküll, Berthold (1196–98), and his martyrdom during the same campaign. Next Henry reports the conquest and conversion of the Livs and Lettgallians during the early years of the reign of Bishop Albert (1199–1229), his move of the see from Üxküll to Riga (which became the centre and the base for the Christians in this region), and the start of the regular crusading movement at the initiative of this energetic propagator of faith. Thereafter the Chronicle continues with the crusades to Estonia that started in 1208 and the descriptions of which take up more than two thirds of the text.[19] This first history of Livonia ends with the victorious crusading campaign to the islands of Moon (Est. Muhu) and Ösel (Est. Saaremaa) in 1227.[20]

If we assume that the priest Henry (*Henricus* or *Heinricus*), who is mentioned several times in the text, is the author of the Chronicle, then we must also take into account that the author had taken part in many of the events described: he had lived close to the mission and warfare in the lands of the Livs and Lettgallians, had been on the missions to Estonia, and taken part in crusading as a chaplain.[21] This has led some scholars to treat the text as a record of personal experiences, or even as an autobiography.[22] In addition to relying on his memory, he could also have used the testimonies of his fellow missionaries and crusaders; and even though his eye-witness arguments must be treated with care, it is not mere rhetoric when he claims 'Nothing has been put in this account except what we have seen almost entirely with our own eyes. What we have not seen with our eyes, we have learned from those who saw it and who were there'.[23]

[18] For recent discussions on the nature of the early mission to Livonia, see Helmann, 'Die Anfänge der christlicher Mission'; Helmann, 'Bischof Meinhard und die Eigenart der kirchlicher Organisation'; Jensen, 'The Nature of Early Missionary Activities'.

[19] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XII. 6 – XXIX.

[20] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXX.

[21] Priest Henry is mentioned as a participant in the events in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XI. 7, XII. 6, XVI. 3, XVII. 6, XXIV. 1–2. In addition, different scholars have suggested that he also took part at the Lateran Council in Rome in 1215, travelled to Germany with Bishop Albert in 1222–24, and acted as an interpreter for the papal legate to the region, William of Modena in 1225–26.

[22] For an influential study of this text as an autobiography of the chronicler, see Johansen, 'Die Chronik als Biographie'.

[23] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIX. 9, citing I John 1. 1; *The*

Thus, to borrow a phrase coined by the British crusading historian Christopher Tyerman, Henry's Chronicle presents a viewpoint of 'a committed participant'.[24] Yet the text does offer a rare opportunity to gain insight into the crusading and missionary activities, as well as their symbolic universe — aspects of the Chronicle that have been emphasized, especially recently, and that have elevated Henry's text to a rather keen level of interest amongst crusading scholars.[25] However, an aspect that has gained but meagre attention is the Chronicle's description of the performative acts related to the mission and crusading. The Baltic German historian Leonid Arbusow has studied them in more depth in his analysis of Henry's use of liturgical language.[26] Alongside this, Henry's depictions of pagan rites have, of course, gained attention due to the Enlightenment and Romanticist and national interest in the distant past of local folk customs. Nevertheless, even when viewing the representations of the performative from an anthropological angle, finding a suitable approach is not easy. Indeed, Peter Burke has phrased the problem well in an introduction to his *Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*: 'How can historians do "fieldwork" among the dead?'[27] To suggest one possible approach to tackling this question, I shall firstly discuss Henry's use of reperformance, and re-enactment of the past on a broader level, as an ontological principle for conceptualizing the present in a historical narrative. Secondly, I will look more closely into some of his representations of performative acts and ask how they vocalize the distant past during the crusading and Christianization process, and activate a dialogue with them.

Before doing so, however, one has to face the abundance of definitions for a 'performance'. Relying here on Burke's synthesis of various definitions,[28] one could claim that all human behaviour is learned, and thus use the term in a weaker sense to study the informal scenarios of everyday life. On the other hand, 'performance' in a stronger sense refers to formal rituals, ceremonies, and festivals; a scholar preferring this definition would explore more clearly identifiable symbolic actions and events, which are set apart from everyday life,

Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, trans. by Brundage, pp. 237–38.

[24] Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*.

[25] See, first and foremost, Murray, *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*; Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen, *Crusading and Chronicle Writing*.

[26] Arbusow, *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung*; also Arbusow, 'Das entlehnte Sprachgut'.

[27] Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, p. 15.

[28] See Burke, 'Performing History', especially p. 43.

and place participants into a special situation — into a state where the world as experienced and the world as imagined meet more explicitly. I would like to remain in the middle and argue for the fluidity and flexibility of the performative quality in human experience. However, in the context of this article it seems important to point to one of the most significant elements of performances of any kind: they most often reperform and vocalize the past history of events which gives rise — as well as meaning and significance — to them. And, as I shall argue below, evoking the remembrance of the things past is exactly the feature that is common to the general structure and function of both the medieval historical discourse and the performative instances recorded in the text.

Taking the Typological Principle Seriously: Re-enacting the Past and Conceptualizing the Present

Henry's Chronicle begins with the lines 'Divine Providence, "by the fire of His love", and "mindful of Raab and Babylonia", that is, of the confusion of paganism, aroused in our modern times the idolatrous Livs from the sleep of idolatry and of sin in the following way'.[29] This sentence refers to the sacred history via both the Roman breviary[30] and the biblical Psalms (Psalm 86. 4). Thus, already in its beginning, the Chronicle presents a vivid example of an understanding that the present gains significance and meaning as an imitation of the things past. While we can interpret even the very act of historical writing as a kind of a performative act — an imitation of the works of previous authors, and of the very act of writing history — in medieval historical writing this is most eminently accompanied by a strong degree of textual imitation, intertextuality. In Henry's Chronicle, the quotations from textual authorities (as verses, words and phrases, or images and topoi) are almost omnipresent. This relates closely to the chronicler's considerable concern for 'inventing a tradition' for the frontier and to his aim of including the region, its pagan peoples, and Christian newcomers to the ancient and sacred past. Indeed, there being no previous narrative for Livonia (according to our present knowledge), he was the first to take up this task in this area.

[29] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 1: 'Divina providencia, memor Raab et Babilonis, videlicet confuse gentilitatis, nostris et modernis temporibus Livones ydolatras ab ydolatrie et peccati sompno taliter igne sui amoris excitavit'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 25.

[30] *Officium Matutini in Tempore Adventus, Benedictio ad Lect. vi.* and often elsewhere in the Roman Breviary. See *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, p. 2.

In the text, biblical and classical words and phrasing are constantly used for describing the present course of events, and another significant type of textual authority is provided by the liturgy — the quotations from this realm, as convincingly demonstrated by Leonid Arbusow, had a major impact on the structure and rhythm of the Chronicle.[31] On a broader level, the omnipresent quotations are linked to the tradition of medieval historical writing that favours analogical and typological rather than causal explanations. The present history gains (spiritual) meaning as a reperformance of the past, which links the current course of events to the universal course of Salvation history, both as a continuation and as an imitation of it, and treats them as manifestations of the same eternal truth.[32] Thus historical facts can achieve spiritual meaning when typologically related to the sacred past. And, of course, one could add that conceptualizing continuity with and an imitation of the (authoritative) past does not characterize medieval historical writing alone, but is a crucial feature of the historical identity of any group.

Not surprisingly, in Henry's Chronicle the re-presentation of the current events of 'our modern times' ('nostris et modernis temporibus') as a recollection and repetition of the biblical wars of the people of Israel, and the Apostolic and saintly mission, serves the goal of bringing the present Livonia and Estonia into the mainstream of universal history and of establishing 'us' as credible historical agents. Along the same line, the mission of the Church in Riga is presented as part of the task of fulfilling the baptismal command Christ gave to the Apostles, most explicitly when Bishop Albert of Riga is said to follow the Lord 'as He commands in His gospels, saying "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"'.[33] In addition, the small number of Livonian Christians[34] draws an analogy between them and members of the first congregations who lived at times when 'the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few' (Matthew

[31] See Arbusow, *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung*.

[32] As argued, for example, in Mégier, '"Ecclesiae sacramenta"', pp. 625–29, and Bagge, 'Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising's Gesta Frederici'.

[33] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVI. 2, ref. Matthew 28. 29; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 122. Also the epilogue of the Chronicle (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIX. 9) refers to the same command, as given in Mark 16. 20.

[34] The small number of the Germans is emphasized in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 3, X. 12, XXI. 7, XXII. 3, XXV. 4, XXVIII. 1, and that of the crusaders in general in ibid., VI. 1, XXV. 1.

9. 37). Similarly, the image of Riga as a new church (*novella ecclesia*) relies on 'such tribulation' and on the small number of Christians who, surrounded by pagans, are relieved by the help of God who 'with so few men and in the midst of pagans, always maintained His church'.[35]

The very same emphasis on Christians threatened by the unbelievers also formed the core of the crusading rhetoric, as these campaigns were understood as quintessentially protective. Thus, not surprisingly, this also forms the basis of the Livonian crusading rhetoric, as illuminated well in Henry's description of the Lateran Council (1215). There, according to him, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) renewed for the Livonian clergy 'their authority to preach and to enlist, for the remission of their sins, pilgrims who would go to Livonia with them to secure the new church against the assaults of the pagans'.[36] The endeavour lies on the shoulders of the crusaders and the military order of the Sword Brethren (est. in Livonia in 1201). Their campaigns, and the victories achieved over many through the hands of the few, are compared to the wars of Israel, and especially those of the Maccabees in which the few elected people fought the wars of the Lord over many.[37]

[35] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 13: 'in medio gencium in tanta paucitate virorum suam semper conservat ecclesiam'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 64. For the church of Livonia depicted as *adhuc parva*, see *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XII. 5, for the Estonian church as *parvula adhuc infirma*, see ibid., XXVIII. 4. For the notion of *novella ecclesia*, see ibid., X. 8, XVI. 2, XIX. 7, XXII. 1, XXIV. 4.

[36] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXII. 1: 'renovata auctoritate predicandi et peregrinos in remissionem peccatorum signandi, qui Lyvoniam secum proficiscentes novellam ecclesiam a paganorum tuerentur insultibus' (*The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 152). See also 'defenderunt ecclesiam novellam ab impetu paganorum'. It is also described as the church as 'beset with many tribulations' and situated 'in the midst of many nations and the adjacent Russians, who all took counsel together over ways to destroy it' in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIV. 7, ref. Psalm 71. 10, Acts 9. 23; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 100. Similar images are used in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, VI. 4, VII. 2, VIII. 1, X. 13, XII. 6, XIV. 4, XIV. 7, XVII. 1, XIX. 7, XXII. 1. Likewise, the legitimation for the founding of the Sword Brethen (in 1202) relies on the fear that otherwise the local Christians and the clergy, 'foreseeing the treachery of the Livonians' would be 'unable to resist the multitude of pagans', and on the need 'to preserve the church among the pagans' ('ad conservandam in gentibus ecclesiam') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, VI. 6; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 40).

[37] This idea is emphasized also in the thanksgiving to God after the battles: 'qui per paucos "operatus est salutem" ecclesie sue' citing from Psalm 73. 12 (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 8, 9, X. 14, XXI. 7, XXIII. 9); see also ibid., X. 12, 13, XXII. 3, XXV. 2,

Nevertheless, this structure also includes the local peoples, presented according to the model of the antagonists in those sacred stories: the pagans and apostates of the Old and New Testament. On the narrative level, this is also represented through the inclusion of several scenes and utterances from sacred writing. The newly converted Livs, depicted as 'stubborn' and 'treacherous', at first 'deceitfully with guile and tears' ('dolis et lacrimis [...] ficte'), ask Bishop Meinhard not to abandon them (as the Bishop was about to sail off), yet thereafter 'greeted the bishop on his return like Judas, and said: "Hail, rabi!"'.[38] As the chronicler compares the Livonian Christians and the crusaders to the people of Israel, he also establishes an analogy between the Livs and the Philistines, the enemies of the Israelites. To give just one example, the chieftain of the revolting Livs 'comforted and encouraged' his men, 'saying, as the Philistines once did: "Take courage and fight, ye brothers Philistines, lest you come to be servants to the Hebrews"'.[39] The utterances of the antagonists of the Old Testament are also used to represent other rivals: for example, one of the Lithuanian chieftains uses the voice of the Syrian king Ben-Hadad who fought against Israel.[40] Thus, in a text that is aimed at creating history and identity for the new Christian col-

XXVII. 6. A direct comparison to the wars of Israel is made as Henry states: 'ut unus persequeretur mille et duo fugarent decem milia' (ibid., XXV. 4: citing Deuteronomy 32. 30); and 'qui quondam exterruit Philisteos, ut fugerent coram David, or qui David a Philisteis semper defendit' (ibid., XXVII. 1, XXX. 4: citing I Samuel 17. 35–53). Heinrich Hildebrand was one of the first to draw attention to the comparison between the Rigans and the Israelites; Hildebrand, *Die Chronik Heinrichs von Lettland*, p. 38; later Leonid Arbusow has argued that the motif of the great victory achieved through the hands of the few is one of the dominant ones in the text (Arbusow, *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 51).

[38] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 11: 'redeuntem episcopum Holmenses salutatione et animo Iude salutant, dicentes "Ave, rabbi"', citing Matthew 26. 49; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, pp. 28–29). Later the Estonians are also presented as giving a Judas's greeting to their priest, as 'he was hailed with greetings from the mouth and not from the heart' ('salutatusque est salutatione oris et non cordis, qualiter Iudas Dominum salutavit') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XV. 9; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 119).

[39] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 10: 'Confortabant enim eos Dabrelus, senior ipsorum, et animabat, quemadmodum Philistei quondam dicentes: "Confrontamini, Philistiim, et pugnate, ne serviatis Hebreis"', citing I Kings 4. 9; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 61).

[40] Mocking the Rigans, he says 'For the dust of this city [Riga] will scarcely satisfy the fist of our people'. *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 1: 'Vix enim pulvis civitatis illius pugillo populi nostri sufficiet', citing III Kings 20. 10; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 47.

ony, this dominantly mimetic representation of events, agents, and even places had a clearly legitimizing and authority-forming function.

Vocalizing and Re-enacting the Past

Is it possible to move on from these broader analogies and comparisons to look for more distinct representations? I would like to argue that the Chronicle does indeed represent several (types of) performative acts, which show an understanding that the sacred past also needs to be vocalized and acted out. This is most clearly made manifest by what is likely the best-known example of the uses of the performative in the Chronicle, namely Henry's account of the liturgical 'Play of the Prophets', which took place in Riga in the winter of 1204.[41] As pointed out by Brenda Bolton, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the liturgical drama was practised in many of the eastern frontier areas, where the dramatization of the liturgy and biblical events was to lay the foundations for the continuity of worship amongst the neophytes.[42] The play was addressed to the neophytes; it was performed 'in order that the pagans (*gentilitas*) might learn the rudiments of the Christian faith by an ocular demonstration'.[43] Here the analogy with the sacred history is made manifest: 'This play was like a prelude and prophecy of the future; for in the same play there were wars, namely those of David, Gideon, and Herod, and there was the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments.'[44] Moreover, it is also claimed to have been acted out with the participation of the pagan audience, as when 'the army of Gideon fought the Philistines, the pagans began to take flight, fearing lest they be killed'.[45]

[41] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 14. See Schneider, 'Strassentheater im Missionseinsatz'; Petersen, 'The Notion of a Missionary Theatre'.

[42] Bolton, 'Message, Celebration, Offering', pp. 93–97. Bolton's article emphasizes Pope Innocent III's role in the use of and regulations for 'liturgical dramas' in the frontier areas.

[43] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 14: 'ut fidei christiane rudimenta gentilitas fide disceret oculata'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 53.

[44] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 14: 'Iste autem ludus quasi preludium et presagium erat futurorum. Nam in eodem ludo errant bella, utpote David, Gedeonis, Herodis; erat et doctrina Veteris et Novi Testamenti'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 53.

[45] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 14: 'Ubi autem armati Gedeonis cum Phylisteis pugnabant, pagani timentes occidi fugere ceperunt'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 53.

Several other passages of the Chronicle also refer to a need for 'ocular demonstrations' and participation in rituals, which, I believe, can be especially revealing in the context of conquest and conversion regarding an understanding of the efficiency and authority of symbolic behaviour and interaction. Furthermore, the emphasis on and the accompanying anxiety regarding the performative aspects suggests the importance of symbolic behaviour in the process of crusade and Christianization. The *legatio in gentibus* is something that needs to be performed. First and foremost, the dominant feature of those acts is their ability to link the present to the past (as did the analogical and typological models discussed above). Even though Henry abundantly uses quotes to represent those acts, he also constantly modifies the biblical, liturgical, hagiographical, and other patterns to fit different occasions. Indeed, the ability to fluidly adapt is an essential and vital feature of any performance, including medieval ritual performances.[46] In the following my interest lies in these questions: On what occasions and where do those performances take place? Who are the performers? What is their function (i.e. what is communicated by the rituals and through the agency of their participants)?

Firstly, one should begin by emphasizing that partaking in a mission, or a crusade, in itself has the quality of taking part in a ritual. Similarly crusading warfare is re-presented as imitation: it is presented as a re-enactment of the wars of Israel and especially the Maccabees. Like the Israelites the crusaders are also 'to fight the battles of the Lord against the pagans'[47] and act as agents through whom the divine plan and the grace of God are made manifest: He is said to have been fighting for them, as He fought for the chosen people.[48]

[46] As has been stressed by, for instance, Althoff, 'The Variability of Rituals'.

[47] For 'prelia Domini preliari contra paganos' citing from 1 Samuel 25. 28, see, for instance, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXV. 1; and for 'the battles of the Lord' ('prelia Domini') citing from 1 Kings 25. 28, see ibid., XI. 5, XIII. 2, XXI. 2, XXV. 1, XXVII. 1. See also 'preliabatur prelia Domini cum leticia' (ref. 1 Maccabees 3. 2) in ibid., XIII. 2, XXVII. 1.

[48] For the battles where the Lord 'fought for them' ('pro eis pugnavit'), citing from Exodus 14. 25 and Judith 5. 16, see *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XV. 3, XXV. 4, XXVII. 1, XXVIII. 7. The idea extends also to the Church as a whole: after one victorious battle 'the Livonian church knew truly that God was fighting for it'. See *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XV. 3: 'ecclesia Lyvonensis Deum vere pugnare pro se intellexit', citing Exodus 14. 25; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 113. Similarly, the crusaders go into battle 'in quo confidentes' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XI. 5, XXIII. 9, XXV. 4, XXX. 4: ref. Psalm 10. 1); and ibid., XII. 3 and XXV. 4: 'in Domino sperandum or spem totam ponebant in Domino', ref. Psalm 73. 28, 78. 7. Also, the Sword Brethren are called the 'army of the Lord' ('exercitus Domini') that is fighting

The Maccabees were a significant model for the crusading ideology as a whole, which relied heavily on the idea of reperforming the biblical past and also the past of the previous crusades. Furthermore, the crusading movement turned the experience of conquest and conversion into what we might call a collective performative act, one that places participants in a special situation. When looking at the Nordic missionary tradition one notices that in the pre-crusading period the past is mainly reperformed by the individual members of the elite: missionaries (and, to a great extent, even missionary bishops who are compared to Elisha, Elijah, Moses, and the great missionaries of the past), and princes and kings (compared for instance to David). During the crusades, however, the group presented to take part in the imitation of the authoritative figures of the past (Christ, the Apostles, the Maccabees, etc.) grows significantly larger.[49] In addition, as a penitential ritual and a way of gaining spiritual reward, crusading was closely interlinked with the pilgrimage tradition, and thus its authority also relied on following in the earthly footsteps of Christ. As a result, this 'monasticization of war' included not only campaigning, but also several sequential phases of the ritual of repentance and redemption (moving from a grief and fear of God to joy): taking the vow and taking part in the crusading ceremonies (for instance, Masses), showing individual devotion and penance, experiencing suffering and perils, acknowledging the longing for God, and achieving His grace. It was in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that the crusading rhetoric and practices gained significant coherence, including its legislative, legitimizing, and also ritual strategies (crusading indulgence, privileges, sermons, vows, etc.), and Henry's Chronicle illuminates this process well: authors like him played a crucial role in creating the phenomenon they were describing, as they provided both the description and the definition for it.[50] In his representation crusading makes the expansion performative: with the help of biblical as well as liturgical quotations, the presentation of campaigning is ritualized and adjusted to the structure of a penitential ritual.

Firstly, the Chronicle reflects the initiating rituals of crusading campaigns: bestowing and taking the sign of the cross. A good example of this is offered,

'with joy the battles of the Lord'. See ibid., XIII. 2: 'preliabatur prelia Domini cum leticia', citing 1 Maccabees 3. 2; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 89; in the same passage Henry also states that 'the aid and victory of the Lord was always with them [the Sword Brethren]'. See *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIII. 2: 'auxilium et victoria Domini semper erat cum eis'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 89.

[49] For an initial sketch of this idea, see Kaljundi, 'Waiting for the Barbarians'.

[50] Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, p. 35.

for instance, in the description of the crusade to Ösel in 1206, in the beginning of which Andreas Sunesen, the Archbishop of Lund (1201–28) 'bestowed the sign of the cross (*signo crucis signaverat*) upon a great multitude, which were to take vengeance on the pagans and subject the nations to the Christian faith'.[51] Other traces of crusading sermons also exist in the text,[52] the rhetoric of which is likewise revealed in an emphasis on the need to protect the young Church and the small number of Christians from the manifold dangers to which they are exposed in the barbarian lands. Henry also pays attention to the indulgence and privileges granted to the crusaders, stressing that they are equal to those given to the crusaders to the Holy Land.[53] These initiating markers of crusading are followed by yet another symbolically loaded element: the beginning of the crusading performance is also marked by a crossing of the sea (the maritime voyage to Riga via Lübeck and Visby). Every year around Easter the ships arrived with crusaders and provisions, and other ships transported the crusaders back after they had spent one year in Livonia. As the Chronicle is also structured according to the Easter season, most of the books begin either with the crusaders coming or leaving by sea, often accompanied by Bishop Albert of Riga.[54] Henry describes Bishop Albert's crusading sermons as a call 'to take on the sign of the cross in order to go by sea to Livonia', and, likewise, explicitly defines Livonia and Estonia as 'the lands beyond the sea' ('terrae transmarinae').[55]

[51] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 13: 'qui in remissionem peccatorum infinitam multitudinem signo crucis signaverat ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus et ad subiugandas gentes fidei christiane', ref. Psalm 149. 7; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 14.

[52] For example, the last book of the Chronicle describes how the papal legate William of Modena preached the crusade to Ösel: he 'displayed the sign of the holy cross for the remission of sins to all who bore the Christian name, that they might take revenge upon the perverse Oeselians'; and whilst the Gothlanders and Danes arguably refuse, 'the Germans obeyed and took the cross (*crucem recipiunt*)' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXX. 1; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 239). For indications to crusading sermons, see also *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 8, 13, XII. 1, XIV. 4.

[53] For the mentioning of the crusaders' privileges and indulgence, see *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 12, III. 2, VII. 2, X. 13, XI. 9, XIX. 7, XXII. 1, XXX. 1.

[54] Several scholars have pointed out that the Chronicle's structure follows the rhythm of pilgrims' seafaring, or 'pilgrimage-years'. See, for instance, Jensen, 'The Nature of Early Missionary Activities'.

[55] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIV. 4: 'crucis signum sibi affigeat, ut mare transeat'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 96. Livonia and Estonia are called *terra transmarinae* in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XV. 4, XXV. 2.

In the crusading literature, going to sea signifies giving oneself to perils and also recalls the symbolic importance the Bible ascribes to sea travel. The clerics and crusaders are 'committing themselves to the dangers of the sea (*periculis maris*)'[56] by travelling to Livonia. In particular, the endeavour of Bishop Albert, who travelled to Germany almost annually to recruit another levy of crusaders, is emphasized; as Henry claims, 'Not fearing to undergo prosperity and adversity for God, he [Bishop Albert] committed himself to the raging sea.'[57] In addition, Henry presents the sea voyage as dangerous not only because of the storms, but also due to the pagan pirates[58] — a motif which is not rare in the Baltic crusading tradition which previously made use especially of the threat that the Wendish pirates posed to their Danish and Saxon neighbours.[59] Yet the symbolic value of the seascape is not only defined by negative characteristics. The sea is also a place where the will of the Lord is made manifest, and therefore seafaring is an activity governed from on high: there the Lord keeps his people from dangers.[60] Moreover, the sea is closely connected to the Virgin Mary, the patroness of the Livonian mission, whom Henry also calls 'The Star of the Sea' ('maris stella') after the church anthem *Ave Maris Stella*. The one or two years' crusading experience is conclusively turned into a penitential ritual by the further perils that await the crusaders in Livonia and Estonia, concep-

[56] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIII. 1; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 88.

[57] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, VII. 1: 'pro prospera et adversa pro Deo pati non formidans fluctuanti pelago se committit'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 41. In another passage, Henry adds that 'He [Bishop Albert] was not burned by the sun of prosperity by day nor saddened by the moon of adversity by night, and thus kept from the work of God on land and sea'. See *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 11, citing Psalm 120. 6: 'quem nec sol adurit prosperitatis per diem, neque luna contristat adversitatis per noctem, ut a Dei negocio non desistat terra marique'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 62. For the Bishop's valiant seagoing, see also *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, VIII. 1.

[58] The pagan pirates are mentioned, for instance, in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIX. 5.

[59] See Jensen, 'The Blue Baltic Border of Denmark' for the Danish perspective, and Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde* for the viewpoint of Saxon history writing.

[60] He 'who commands the winds and the sea' ('qui imperat ventis et mari') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 6: citing Luke 8. 25; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 50) rescues the crusaders from the stormy sea as well as from the Estonian pirates, for example, in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, VII. 2, VIII. 3, XI. 6.

tualized for the frontier Christian community as follows: 'Although Almighty God does not cease to test his elect ones, now placed in various tribulations (*tribulationes*), like gold in fire, nevertheless He does not desert them entirely, but rather, rescuing them from all evils, puts their enemies in greater fear.'[61]

Similarly the mission can be interpreted as an imitating act, during which the missionaries travelling to Livonia or Estonia place themselves in a situation for which the framework is given by the scriptural, apostolic, and hagiographic tradition. The process includes a series of acts to be performed: crossing the symbolic physical barriers (for instance the sea or rivers), entering the unknown desert-like environment haunted by demons, showing willingness to face perils, threats, and death for Christ, and going about and preaching 'in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation' (Philippians 2. 15). For better or for worse the undertaking often ends in martyrdom, an act which, needless to say, is also understood in the light of the earlier sacred models. Indeed, the first chapters of Henry's Chronicle emphasize the individual suffering of the first missionaries, especially of the first bishops of Üxküll, Meinhard and Berthold: according to Henry, the first was repeatedly betrayed and threatened by the locals, and the second became a martyr.[62] With regard to the clerics, one should mention that the Chronicle does not fail to mention the perils of priest Henry, the supposed author of the text: later on it stresses that after his consecration he, 'although exposed to many dangers (*plurimis periculis expositus*), did not cease to point out to them the blessed future life'.[63] However, after the beginning of regular crusading in early thirteenth-century Livonia, the threshold of penitential ritual opens up to the whole Christian community, including the crusaders and the Sword Brethren, the citizens and merchants of Riga, as well as the missionaries. This is well illustrated by the chronicler's remark on how

[61] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, VIII. 3: 'Licet enim omnipotens Deus electos suos in variis tribulationibus positos quasi aurum in igne probare non desinat, nunquam tamen omnino deserit, immo ex omnibus malis eos eripiens maiorem hostibus eorum timorem ingerit', citing Job 23. 10, Genesis 48. 16; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 46.

[62] For the labours and troubles of Meinhard, see esp. *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 9, I. 11, and for those of Berthold, ibid., II. 2; the martyrdom of the latter is described in ibid., II. 6. For the perils of other early missionaries, see ibid., I. 10, II. 9–10, IV. 2, VII. 6.

[63] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XI. 7: 'plurimis periculis expositus, future eis beatitudinem vite non desiit demonstrare'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 75. The misfortunes of priest Henry are also vividly described in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIV. 5.

Sword Brethren 'bore the burden of the day, and the heats, in wars and other continual labors'.[64] Furthermore, the Chronicle points to the flexibility of performing the crusading ritual: one group of the Livonian crusaders fulfil their crusading vow by building the city walls of Riga.[65]

Finally, one ought not to forget that suffering also had a prominent legitimizing potential. This was, for instance, used to strengthen the claims of the new church at the Lateran Council (1215) where Bishop Albert 'reported the troubles (*tribulationes*), the wars, and the affairs of the Livonian church'.[66] The same argument was also used on the local level, as during the rivalry of the Danish and Riga churches over northern Estonia. The clerics from Riga (according to Henry) pointed out that 'this vineyard had been planted by the zeal of the pilgrims and the labor of the Rigans through the Blessed Virgin's Banner' and 'it had been cultivated by the blood of many men and by the many sufferings of war'.[67] Furthermore, not only does suffering serve to give legitimacy to the conquest, as well as meaning and significance to the crusading experience, but Henry also presents it as the experience and emotion that unites the crusaders and Christians with the local Livish neophytes. After the assaults by the Estonians in 1223, Henry argues: 'In Riga the word became known about all the evils which had been brought upon the Livonians and Letts and everyone wept and mourned over their colleagues who had been killed.'[68] At the end of

[64] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XI. 3: 'qui in bellis et in alia laboribus continuis portabant pondus diei et estus', citing Matthew 20. 2, 12; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 69. In the same passage, the Sword Brethren are also characterized as 'men who day and night set themselves up as a wall for the house of the Lord' ('viros, qui se murum pro domo Domini die ac nocte ponerent', citing Ezechiel 13. 5).

[65] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIII. 3. Henry also describes the building of the city walls in ibid., XI. 1 and XII. 1. The metaphor of 'standing as the wall in front of the house of God' ('murum se pro domo Domini ponere') derives from Ezechiel 13. 5, and is used in relation to both the crusaders and the Sword Brethren in ibid., XI. 5, 9, and also in ibid., XI. 3, XIV. 4.

[66] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIX. 7; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 152.

[67] Accordingly 'studio peregrionrum et Rigensium labore and sanguine multorum et bellorum incommodis multis' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIV. 2; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 189).

[68] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXVII. 1: 'Et innotuit sermo in Riga de omnibus malis, Lyvonibus et Lettis illatis, et fleverunt et doluerunt omnes de confratribus suis occisis', citing I Maccabees 7. 30, 8. 9; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 213. Also after the defeat at the Ümera battle (1210) the Livs and Lettgallians

the Chronicle, when the papal legate William of Modena met the Lettgallians during his trip to Livonia (1225), he 'praised highly their humility and patience, for they had gladly borne the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to the Esthonians and other peoples' and, furthermore, elevated the local neophytes to martyrdom, claiming according to Henry that they 'had sent many of their people, slain for the Christian faith, into the company of martyrs'.[69]

The Performances of Alterity and Rituals of Inversion

Ritual actions and ceremonial occasions can also function as promises about the future, as proof of making a commitment and fulfilling an obligation; moreover, they can be an expression of consensus or discord, play a role in disputes, or fail to do so. The above-described experience, however, has an inevitable precondition: the pagan barbarians. Likewise in this Chronicle performing paganism defines a pagan. For example, the Livs are defined as 'untamed people, overly given to pagan rites (*paganorum ritibus*)'.[70] Yet when taking a closer look at these rites one easily notices that they are presented in close interplay with Christianity, Christians, and Christian performances. Firstly, a significant amount of the pagan rituals in Henry's Chronicle underline the threat that the idolatrous cult poses to the missionaries or to the Christians in general. On the physical level, the most outstanding threat is the practice of human sacrifice. For example, Henry claims that the pagan Livs attempted to sacrifice their missionary Theoderic to pagan gods, and that they even sacrificed a group of cap-

'returned from the fight, bewailed their dead, and were joined by the whole church in grieving over the newly baptized who had been butchered by the pagans'. See *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIV. 7: 'reversi de prelio planxerunt interfectos suos, tristes eo quod nuper baptizati a paganis sint trucidati'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 102. The inclusion of the local neophytes into the suffering threshold is also described in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XII. 6, XIV. 8, XV. 3.

[69] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIX. 3: 'humilitatem et patientiam eorum collaudavit, qui nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi ad Estones et ad alias gentes lete portantes, multos de gente sua propter eandem fidem christianam occisos in martyrum [...] consorcium transmiserant'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 232. For the depiction of martyrdoms and the 'poetics of death' in general in Henry's Chronicle, see Tamm, 'Martyrs and Miracles'.

[70] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 13: 'gens indomita et paganorum ritibus nimis dedita', citing from the Breviary; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 53.

tured crusaders.[71] Apart from the obvious rhetoric regarding them as a threat, one could also explain these representations with the American literary scholar Stephen Greenblatt's poignant remark about the discourse on 'the marvellous possessions' of the New World: the emphasis on the violent and primitive nature of the others' rites (human sacrifice is an example par excellence) implies a radical distinction between the pagan and Christian religious practices which can otherwise be depicted as disturbingly homologous.[72]

In addition to this, the impact of another significant 'strategy of alteration' is visible:[73] the presentation of a society devoted to irrational rituals, where the belief in the efficiency of rites and divination forms a significant part of their social order. Henry does not present what we might call a comfortable and stable relationship with a community deity, but instead pagan religion and rites are inspired by and confused with fear: pagans are led by magical superstitions, and they practice rites that are intended to placate demonic gods. Not surprisingly, in Henry's presentation a prominent rite is the casting of lots. This pagan ritual is, again, closely related to the Christians: the pagans are depicted as casting lots before going to the campaigns against the Christians of Riga,[74] or even when deciding whether or not Christians should be sacrificed to pagan gods.[75]

[71] Accordingly, 'diis suis immolare proponunt' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 10), and 'diis suis immolantes' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 12).

[72] Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, pp. 30–32.

[73] In describing this I have taken inspiration from the ideas put forth by Mary Douglas in her analysis of the Old Testament; see Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, pp. 8–35.

[74] For example, Henry argues that the Estonians decide not to siege Riga because the lots of their gods had fallen to the opposite (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XX. 2); and he ascribes the same custom also to the Semigallians (ibid., XII. 2). Similarly to the rituals, which precede the wars, Henry also mentions the rituals for making peace and describes the changing of pikes or blood for signifying peace 'according to the customs of the pagans (*more gentilium*)' for instance, when the Semigallians confirm peace with the Christians (ibid., VI. 5). Also the Curonians are said to have had 'confirmed the peace with the effusion of blood, as is the pagan custom' ('mos paganorum') (ibid., V. 2; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 39). When the peace treaty was made with the Livonians, it is done by 'exchanging lances, according to the custom (*morem*)' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, II. 5; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 33). Likewise Bishop Bertold sends the pike back to the Livonians to tell them of his wish to end the peace (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, II. 5); and the Lithuanians tell the Christians about the ending of the peace in a similar manner (ibid., XVII. 2).

[75] This Henry presents as taking place among the Livs; yet in his story the lots favour the missionary and the latter is saved (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 10).

An even closer interweaving is also mentioned: when the Lettgallians decide on whether they should accept the baptism from the Rigan priests 'they cast lots and asked the opinion of their gods as to whether, [...] they should submit to the baptism of the Russians of Pskov or, on the other hand, to that of the Latins'.[76] This scene is even more interesting as the lots fell, indeed, in favour of the Latins, and later in the narrative the Lettgallians are given the role of 'good neophytes'.

Nevertheless, the text contains but few detailed descriptions of the 'original' pagan religion or idolatry before the period of the initial conversion of the local peoples.[77] While interpreting these representations, one should take into account that the main legitimizing strategy of the Rigan mission and crusade is, according to Henry, the (repeated) apostasy of the Livs and Estonians. The core basis of the legitimacy of the crusades and forced mission is the model which first depicts a peaceful mission taking place among the heathens, followed by the treachery and apostasy of at least some of the neophytes. This allows the use of force to make the relapsed rejoin the faith and Church, as a forced conversion of the pagans would have run counter to canonical law. In this structure, the pagan rites Henry describes also function above all as signifiers of the declining of the true faith. Thus, in this Chronicle where 'primitive pagans' use rituals magically and the neophytes are also prone to magic, the majority of magic rites are presented as inversions of Christian rituals and ceremonies. This, furthermore, suggests that the keen demarcation of pagan and blasphemous rites is related to establishing a difference between sainthood and magic (or witchcraft), as well as to anxiety regarding the orthodoxy of the Christian cult (and rites). As the anthropologist Mary Douglas has well pointed out, inverted rituals can reveal a concern for ritual purity in performing an act of worship that is already present in the scripture's history of the Israelites as a struggle between the prophets who demanded interior union with God and the people who were continually suspectible to sliding back into primitive magicality.[78]

Already from the beginning of Henry's narrative, which starts with the mission of Bishop Meinhard among the Livs, the locals are presented as having allowed themselves to be baptized only falsely in the hope of having the missionary build a stone castle to them as a reward.[79] Later, they are said to surren-

[76] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XI. 7: 'missis tamen prius sortibus et requisito consensu deorum suorum, an Ruthenorum de Plicecowe [...], an Latinorum debeant subire baptismum'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 75.

[77] The only exception is the Lithuanians, to whom the mission was not addressed.

[78] Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 32.

[79] So did the Livonians in Üxküll who 'all promised, though deceitfully, to be baptized'.

der and accept baptism only from a fear of the crusaders.[80] Furthermore, after the beginning of regular crusading, the Livs are marked as liable to apostasy (a greater sin than the original paganism); when depicting their conflicts with the new lords, Henry claims that the Livs are 'inconstant and of two minds';[81] 'although they had been baptized, [they] were nevertheless still rebels and unbelievers'.[82] They have either forgotten the faith or care little for baptism. For example in this model description of a pagan revolt the Livs are argued 'having accepted the grace of baptism from Meinhard, the first bishop of Livonia', yet then they 'scorned the faith of Christ and often said they had removed it by bathing in the Dvina'.[83]

Another important element for legitimizing the crusades are the few local neophytes whom Henry presents as remaining true to their new faith, hence creating a cause for the protection of Christianity from the 'hatred' (*odium*) of the revolting Livs.[84] A greater part of the Livs are, nevertheless, depicted as

See *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 6: 'universitas se baptizandam, licet mendaciter, pollicetur'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 26; and the ones in Holm 'cheated Meinhard by making a similar promise (*simili promissione*)' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 7; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 27). After the forts are completed, the treachery is described in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 9 (*The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 27) as follows: 'in their inquity they [the Livs] forgot their oath and perjured themselves, for there was not even one of them who accepted the faith' ('oblita iuramenti mentita est iniquitas sibi, nec est usque ad unum, qui fidem suscipat'); cf. Psalm 27. 12, 13. 3.

[80] Quite tellingly, indeed, Henry claims about Bishop Albert of Riga, the energetic propagator of the crusades: 'But the bishop, knowing the wickedness (*maliciam*) of the Livonians and seeing that he could not make progress among that people without pilgrims (*videns se sine auxilio peregrinorum in gente illa non posse proficere*), sent Brother Theoderic of Treiden to Rome for letters authorizing an expedition (*pro litteris expedicionis*)' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IV. 6; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 38). The idea, however, is noted already during the mission of Meinhard (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, II. 7) and developed later in ibid., IV. 4, IX. 9.

[81] 'duplici corde et inconstantes' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVI. 4; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 130).

[82] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 11: 'rebelles et increduli', citing Numbers 20. 10; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 52.

[83] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 8: 'acceptam baptismi graciam a primo Lyvonum antistite Meynardo fidem Christi [...] in Duna se lavantes delere sepe dicebant'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 51.

[84] For an illuminating example of such arguments see, for example, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 5: 'Qui constantes in dilectione Dei fidem susceptam

weak in faith and liable to apostasy, and their many revolts against the Rigans are argued to have been primarily targeted not against the new supremacy, but against the new faith. These claims necessitate a depiction of the relapses into paganism as well, in which the performances of apostasy have a crucial role to play. Firstly, neglecting Christian rites already signifies neglecting the faith. Neglecting the sacraments, in particular, becomes a signifier that marks the beginning of the revolts, as when, for instance, the Livs are depicted, 'neglecting the sacraments (*immemores sacramentorum*), forgetful of their baptism, casting off the faith, not keeping the peace, beginning war again'.[85] Similarly, as in the case of the few loyal neophytes, accepting and practising Christian rites signify baptism and remaining loyal to the Christian church. Likewise apostasy is, of course, also marked by performing blasphemous rites. For instance, Bishop Albert of Riga blames the rebelling Livs 'because you rejected the sacraments of faith' and 'especially because, out of contempt of the most high God and in order to mock us and all Christians, you threw the goats and other animals

se omni caritatis affectu amplectere profitentur, ab amore et societate christianorum testantur nulla eos posse genera tormentorum separare. Unde nimirum eciam cognatorum tantum in eos excrevit odium, ut exinde maius esset odium amore, quo ante dilexerant. [...] Quos acerrimis penis afficientes [...]. De quibus non est dubium, quin cum sanctis martiribus pro tanto martyrio vitam receperint eternam' (*The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 57: 'Constant in the love of God, they confessed that they had embraced the faith they had received with all devotion and affirmed that no kind of torture could separate them from the love and society of the Christians. Because of this, naturally, the hatred even of their kinsmen grew so great against them that henceforth this hatred was greater than the love which they had previously felt. [...] They afflicted them with most cruel punisments [...]. There is no doubt that they received eternal life with the holy martyrs for such a martyrdom'). The importance of the early neophytes is similarly reflected in the mentioning of the names of the first Livs baptized by Meinhard. Henry mentiones the names of the first Livs baptized in both Ükskülll (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 4) and Holm (ibid., I. 7), as well as of the two martyred Livish neophytes (ibid., X. 5), and of the chieftans who remained faithful during the revolts (ibid., X. 8, XIV. 10). Among them especially the Livish chieftain Caupo stands out; he was even taken to Rome to meet Pope Innocent III (ibid., VII. 3); Caupo is also praised in ibid., X. 10, XIV. 5, 8.

[85] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 6; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 57 (here partly my translation). Later similar claims are made also about the Estonians, as when they, for example, 'baptismi sui sacramenta violaverant, qui fidem Iesu Christi reiciendo ad paganismum redierant' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXVIII. 3) (*The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 221: 'who had violated the sacraments of their baptism, who had cast off the faith of Jesus Christ and returned to their paganism'). See also ibid., XXI. 5.

which you had immolated to the pagan gods in our face and in the face of the whole army'.[86]

Parallel to this, as the conquest and conversion proceed, the success of the Christians is presented in the rituals of submission, as well as in the accompanying performances of power. Indeed, they seem to reveal an understanding of a political culture where an eminent role is played by the symbolic elements: acts of recognition and submission, demonstrations of secular and especially ecclesiastical power, as well as other expressions of authority. As a founding narrative the text has to deal with continuous struggles concerning ecclesiastical and secular rulership over newly conquered lands, which also determines its key concern: confirming territorial authority and legitimizing the act of taking possession of lands and peoples. The interlinking of the Christian and feudal traditions and the subjugating of converts to the Christian Church and secular rulers (as well as tributes) rely heavily on the successful performance of various rituals: the rites of baptism and submission, along with the accompanying gestures that are to show humility (for example, tears and grieving) and fidelity to the new rule. Thus, the baptism ceremonies in particular may also be interpreted as reflecting an understanding that power can, or even must, be manifested and legitimized via the performative. As moments of submission they reflect the role of ritual and ceremonial occasions in conveying the message — in this case, in representing and establishing rule and authority. Similarly, the subjugation is marked by the replacement of old pagan rituals with new Christian ones.

[86] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVI. 4: 'Pro eo, quod fidei sacramenta reiecistis [...] maxime in contemptum Dei altissimi et ad nostram et omnium christianorum illusionem hircos et cetera animalia diis paganorum immolantes in faciem nostram et tocius exercitus proiecistis'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 129. For this, the Bishop claims, according to Henry, 'modicam summam argenti, centum videlicet oseringos vel quinquaginta marcas argenti, ab omni provincia vestra requirimus' ('we demand a moderate sum of silver from your entire province, namely one hundred oseringi, or fifty silver marks') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVI. 4; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 129). The mockery itself is also described in the same passage: 'clamor magnus fit et exultatio in castro, diisque suis secundum antiques consuetudines honorem impendentes animalia mactant, canes et hircos immolantes ad illusionem christianorum in faciem episcopi et tocius exercitus de castro proiciunt. Sed frustratur omnis labor eorum' ('At this there was great noise and rejoicing in the fort and the Livonians sacrificed animals, paying honor to their gods according to their old customs. They immolated dogs and goats and, to mock the Christians, they tossed them from the fort, in the face of the bishop and the whole army. But all of the Livonians' work was wasted') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVI. 4; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 127).

Taking the Spatial Turn

Pagan and blasphemous rites are thus often represented as inverted versions of Christian rituals (one could also interpret them as counter-rituals, or even rituals of erasure). Moreover, the rites that become prominent in Henry's representation of this ritual rivalry are connected not so much to individual conversion or apostasy, but rather to the Christianization and heathenization of the landscape. Recently (and probably at least partly influenced by the 'spatial turn' in cultural studies), several scholars have pointed to the chronicler's interest in the sacralizing and desacralizing aspects of space. Carsten Selch Jensen has well phrased this perpective in relation to Henry: during the process of Christianization 'not only peoples but entire physical landscapes were Christianized' and centres of power had to do with military and political, as well as spiritual, dominance.[87] Or, to put it the other way around: the conversion of a large number of people requires a redefinition of the physical landscape in accordance with the new religious beliefs.[88] In Henry's Chronicle, not surprisingly, the spatial technologies first and foremost include the demolishing of old pagan space, and establishing new sacred centres on a physical as well as on a symbolic and semantic level[89] (the inclusion of the land into Christian geographies, the naming of the Virgin Mary as the patroness of the land, etc.).

Firstly the demonic or diabolic nature of the local space gains an inevitable role in the Chronicle. Henry describes how the priest Daniel met a Liv coming out from one of the 'dark hiding places of the woods' and told him of a vision he had seen during the night. 'I saw the god of the Livonians (*deum Lyvonum*), who foretold the future to us. He was, indeed, an image (*ymago*) growing out of a tree from the breast upwards.'[90] The god had told him that a Lithuanian army would be coming the next day, and out of fear for that army the Livs did not dare to assemble for preaching. However, as the prophecy did not come

[87] Jensen, 'How to Convert a Landscape', pp. 155–56. For a recent discussion on Henry's view on such symbolic elements of the landscape as wilderness, see Nielsen, 'Henry of Livonia on Woods and Wilderness'. Recently, the spatial aspects have been discussed also in relation to the other Baltic crusades, such as the Danish crusades against the Wends; see Jensen, 'Sacralization of the Landscape'.

[88] Jensen, 'How to Convert a Landscape', pp. 156–57.

[89] The inclusion of Livonia into 'the cultural geography of medieval Europe' has recently been analysed in Tamm, 'A New World into Old Words'.

[90] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, x. 14: '"Vidi", inquit, "deum Lyvonum, qui nobis future predixit. Erat enim ymago excrescens ex arbore a pectore et sursum"'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 66.

true, the Livs came to the priest who 'execrated their idolatry and affirmed that a phantom (*fantasmata*) of this kind was an illusion of the demons (*demonum illusionem*)'.[91] 'He [priest Daniel] preached that there was one God, creator of all, one faith, and one baptism, and in these and similar ways invited them to the worship of one God.'[92] Including in his text quotations from the baptismal vow, Henry now depicts how the Livs, 'After hearing these things, [...] renounced the devil and his works, promised to believe in God, and those who were predestined by God were baptized.'[93] The demonic space, however, can also be acted against on the physical level, to break with the pagan past and root out old habits. Describing the campaigns to Estonia, Henry represents the sacred woods of the Estonians in Vironia (Est. Virumaa) where 'there was a mountain and a most lovely forest in which, the natives say, the great god (*magnum deum*) of the Oeselians, called Tharapita, was born, and from which he flew to Ösel. The other priest went and cut down the images and likenesses which had been made there of their gods (*imagines et similitudines deorum suorum*). The natives [the Estonians] wondered greatly that blood did not flow and they believed the more in the priest's sermons'.[94]

[91] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 14: 'quibus sacerdis ydolatriam detestans, huiusmodi fantasmata denonum illusionem affirmata'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 66 (here partly my translation).

[92] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 14: 'unum Deum, creatorem omnium, unam fidem, unum baptisma esse predicat et his et aliis similibus ad culturam unius Dei eos invitat'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 66.

[93] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 14: 'diabolo et operibus eius abrenunciant et in unum Deum credere se promittunt. Compare with the vow: Abrenuntias Satanae? Abrenuntio. Et omnibus operibus eius? Abrenuntio /--/ Credis in unum Deum /--/ Credo'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 66.

[94] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIV. 5: 'ubi erant mons et silva pulcherrima, in qua dicebant indigene magnum deum Osiliensium natum, qui Tharapita vocatur, et de illo loco in Osiliam volasse. Et ibat alter sacerdos succidens imagines et similitudines deorum suorum ibi factas, et mirabantur illi, quod sanguis non efflueret, et magis sacerdotum sermonibus credebant'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, pp. 193–94. The phrase *imagines et similitudines* is a quotation from Genesis 1. 26. The spatial metaphors are also used when depicting the conversion of the Öselians: after the conqest of Waldia (Est. Valjala) 'The priests were led with joy into the town in order to preach Christ and to throw out Tharapita, the God of the Oeselians' ('qui in urbem cum gaudio ducuntur, ut Christum predicent, ut Tharapitam, qui deus fuit Osilianorum, eiciant'). A description of mass baptims follows, for which 'They consecrated a fountain in the middle of the fort' ('qui per medium castrum fontem consecrantes'). The same is claimed to recur all over Ösel: 'They brought priests with them to their forts to preach Christ, throw out Tharapita and the other pagan gods, and wash the people with holy baptism' ('presbyteros secum ad castra sua ducunt, qui Christum predicent, qui

Yet in addition to negative overtaking one also finds the positive signs of the Christianization, or conversion of landscape.[95] Next to the baptism of the peoples, an even more important part of Henry's representation of conversion is the 'moistening' (*tingere*) or 'besprinkling' (*aspergere*) of the local villages and fortifications with baptismal water.[96] A similar emphasis is often given to the raising of the flag of the Virgin Mary (*vexillum beate Marie*) in the conquered strongholds. For instance, after conquering a fort of the Selonians in 1208, the priests went into the fort, 'instructed them [the Selonians] in the beginnings of the faith, sprinkled the fort with holy water, and raised the banner of Blessed Mary over it'.[97] The banner becomes prominent especially during the conquest of Estonia, and then, quite tellingly, not only regarding the pagan Estonians, but also the Danish rivals of the Rigan mission are repeatedly told that these lands are already subjected to the Rigans under the banner of the Blessed Virgin.[98] Likewise, the erection of new fortifications, churches, and monasteries signifies the next step in the Christianization of the landscape; the first instances of this physical as well as symbolic appropriation were already present in Henry's account of the first bishop, Meinhard, who built a church and two castles in Livonia.[99] Furthermore, as Alan V. Murray has recently argued, the ways in which landscape was marked out as Christian could also

Tharapita cum ceteris paganorum diis eiciant, qui populum sacro baptismate tingant') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXX. 5; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, pp. 244–45).

[95] In parallel to the general rise of interest towards space, also the idea of 'the conversion of landscape' has been quite widely launched in medieval studies; for an introduction, see Howe, 'The Conversion of the Physical World'.

[96] The besprinkling of strongholds is mentioned, for instance, in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XI. 6, XIV. 11, XXX. 5.

[97] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XI. 6: 'ad fidem iniciando eos instruunt et aspergentes castrum aqua benedicta et vexillum beate Marie in acre figunt'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 74. Descriptions of similar action occur elsewhere in the Chronicle, for example in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIII. 3, XVI. 4, XXIII. 8.

[98] Henry mentions the banner in relation to the Rigan-Danish disputes in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIII. 10, XXIV. 2, XXIX. 6. He uses the motif already for depicting the start of the crusades to Estonia, writing that 'the banner of the Blessed Virgin was carried [...] to all the Esths and the tribes round about' (ibid., XII. 3).

[99] Bishop Meinhard is said to have built a church (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 3) and a stone castle (ibid., I. 5–6) in Üxküll, and a stone castle in Holm (ibid., I. 7–9). For the churches built during the later period, see ibid., X. 14, X. 15, XI. 2, XI. 7, XIII. 3; and for the Cistercian monastery in Dünamunde (Latv. Daugavgriva), ibid., VI. 3, IX. 7.

rise above the ground and include the soundscape: during the colonization and conversion period in Livonia and Estonia the sounds of church bells and music (especially in battle) were deployed in the manifestation and propagation of the new faith.[100] For instance, during the siege of Riga in 1210 the Kurs, 'When they [the Kurs] heard the sound of the great bell [of Riga], they said that they were being eaten and consumed by this God of the Christians'.[101] Yet the construction of new strongholds could be accompanied by the demolishment of the former ones, as is well illustrated in the case of the Russian stronghold in Kokenhusen (Latv. Koknese), which the crusaders found in 1209 'deserted, and because of the filthiness of the former inhabitants full of snakes and worms' so that Bishop Albert 'ordered and asked that it be cleansed and renovated, and had it strongly fortified'.[102]

There is, furthermore, also a corporeal level in this overtaking of space: the Christian blood shed on the Livonian soil, as well as the remains and burial places of the local martyrs. The most eminent martyr of the new church was Bishop Bertold, yet Henry also recounts many other martyrdoms suffered by the missionaries and crusaders that all contribute to the Christianization of the landscape and the making of Christian geographies.[103] In addition, it is worth noting the fact that Henry also mentions the burial place of some Livish neophytes: he tells that the bodies of the two martyred converts, Kyrian and Layan, 'rest in the church of Üxküll and are beside the tombs of the bishops Meinhard and Berthold'.[104] An illuminating example of the functionality of martyrdom and the bodily remains of martyrs is a story about John, an arguably

[100] Murray, 'Music and Cultural Conflict'.

[101] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIV. 5: 'Et cum audirent sonitum campane magne, dicebant se ab illo Deo christianorum commedi atque consumi'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 98.

[102] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIII. 1: 'Et inveniens montem ipsum desertum et pre immundicia quondam inhabitantium vermibus ac serpentibus repletum iussitque et rogavit eundem montem mundari ac renovari et firmis fecit munitionibus muniri'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 88.

[103] For the martyrdom of Bishop Bertold, see *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, II. 6. However, Henry also recounts martyrdoms of crusaders (for example, ibid., IX. 1, XIV. 1), of Sword Brethren (ibid., XIV. 11), and of other clerics (ibid., XXIII. 4). On the 'instrumentality' of the local martyrs in creating sacred zones in an otherwise pagan landscape, see also Jensen, 'How to Convert a Landscape', pp. 162–64.

[104] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 6: 'Horum corpora in Ykescolensi quiescunt ecclesia atque apposita sunt tumbe episcoporum Meynardi et Bertoldi'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 57.

Estonian-born priest of Holm. Henry claims that 'the people of Holm, who are quick to shed blood, took their priest, John, cut off his head, and cut the rest of his body into pieces'. Stating that he 'attained eternal life through the martyr's palm', Henry continues: 'The lord bishop [Albert] with his chapter devotedly buried his body and bones, which were collected afterwards by other priests, in the church of Blessed Mary at Riga.'[105]

Likewise the Chronicle's most eminent cases of religious as well as performative rivalry are closely connected to space. Firstly, the sanctuaries, sacred objects, and rites of the polytheistic pagan religion are presented as being most closely linked to nature and sacred forests, differentiating the primitive cult from monotheistic Christianity. Thus, the Chronicle argues for what we would nowadays call an evolutionary view on religion, where the primitive savage cult is seen as radically different from the higher forms of religion. Whenever Henry argues that the locals relapse into paganism, he depicts this as occurring through the expulsion of the Christian signs from the landscape. Interestingly, this poses an exact counterpart to the Christianization rituals. In the beginning of the Chronicle, after the withdrawal of the participants of the first Livonian crusade lead by Bishop Berthold (in 1198), Henry depicts the Livs performing a kind of ritual cleansing: 'lo! the treacherous Livonians, emerging from their customary baths, poured the water of the Dvina River over themselves, saying: "We now remove the water of baptism and Christianity itself with the water of the river. Scrubbing off the faith we have received, we send it after the withdrawing Saxons."'[106] The same passage gives another good example of the understanding that symbolic action can have a profound effect on the landscape:

> Those who had gone away [that is, the crusaders] had cut the likeness of the head of a man on a branch of a certain tree. The Livonians supposed this to be the god of the Saxons (*Saxonum deum*) and they believed that it was bringing flood and

[105] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, X. 7: 'Porro Holmenses, quorum pedes veloces ad effundenudm sanguinem, capto Iohanne sacerdote suo, caput eius abscidunt, corpus reliquum mebratim dividunt. [...] per martyrii palmam ad vitam eternam. Cuius corpus et ossa, postea ab aliis sacerdotibus collecta, in Riga in ecclesia beate Marie domnus episcopus cum suo capitulo devote sepelivit'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 58.

[106] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, II. 8: 'ecce perfidi Lyvones de balneis consuetis egressi Dune fluminis aqua se perfundunt, dicentes: "Hic iam baptismatis aquam cum ipsa christianitate removemus aqua fluminis et fidem susceptam exfestucantes post Saxones recedetnes transmittimus"'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 34. This event is mentioned once more in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IX. 8.

> pestilence upon them. Accordingly, they cooked mead according to the rite, drank it together, and, having taken counsel, took the head from the tree, placed it on logs which they had tied together, and sent it as the god of the Saxons, together with their Christian faith, after those who were going back to Gothland by sea.[107]

Earlier in his text, Henry had already attributed the custom of washing off baptismal water to the Livs, quite clearly presenting it as an inverted baptismal rite (also a form of ritual purification): 'They thought that since they had been baptized with water, they could remove their baptism by washing themselves in the Dvina and thus send it back to Germany.'[108] Later Henry also claims about the apostatized Estonians that 'they washed themselves, their houses, and their forts with brooms and water, trying thus to erase the sacrament of baptism in their territory'.[109] The Estonian folklorist Ülo Valk has analysed the depiction of ritual washing in later folklore material,[110] maintaining that as purifying and sanctifying actions they were once of crucial importance as part of the rites of passage (such as childbirth, baptism, marriage, death), that is, in the passage of a human being from one status into another. As in such performances archaic tradition became connected with baptism, one can speak of the syncretism of heathen tradition and Christianity. Valk also asks whether the heretical practice of washing away baptismal water (in addition to Henry's Chronicle they are also found in late medieval resolutions[111]) can be linked to the folklore cus-

[107] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, II. 8: 'Illi autem, qui recesserant, in cuiusdam arboris ramo quasi caput hominis inciderant, quod Lyvones Saxonum deum putantes et ex hoc inundanciam et pestilenciam sibi immittere credentes, cocto iuxta ritum medone combibentes, captato consilio caput ab arbore ponentes ligna connectunt, quibus capus superpositum, quasi deum Saxonum, cum fice christianorum pos recedentes Gothlandiam per mare transmittunt'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 34.

[108] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, I. 9: 'baptismum, quem in aqua susceperant, in Duna se lavando removere putant, remittendo in Theuthoniam'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 27.

[109] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXVI. 8: 'se et domos suas et castra lavantes aquis et scopis pugnantes, taliter baptismi sacramenta de finibus suis omnino delere conabatur'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 210. Next to this, abandoning the marital sacrament and going back to old social customs also demarcate the apostasy of the Estonians: 'They [the Estonians] took back their wives, who had been sent away during the Christian period' (ibid., p. 210).

[110] Valk, 'The Significance of Baptism'.

[111] The resolutions of Valga diet (*landtag*) in 1422 demanded that Estonians 'have their children baptized after the ways of the church within a month from their birth' and that 'no one should elude baptism or wash it away on pain of death'. At Valmiera diet in 1504, the resolutions

toms. Of course, they could indicate a mere groundless distrust of some too vigilant clerics towards the people. If baptism replaced the functions of heathen rites, it probably had to be combined with an additional purification rite, one that did not suggest washing away the baptismal water. In baptism as a ritual act of washing away the original sin and in the ritual act of washing in the sauna we can see a blending of two levels: a Christian and a heathen one. Moreover, the question remains whether, according to magical thought, it was at all possible to entirely wash away the baptismal water. Nevertheless, Valk concludes that Henry's reports about the Estonians washing away the baptismal water can hardly be explained in the same way: in the thirteenth century forceful christening could indeed be interpreted as surrendering to a foreign power, and people tried to get rid of it.

What is more, these kinds of rites of apostasy are placed into the context of the Chronicle's broader structure of watering topoi. The alliterative association of the place name Riga with the verbs *rigare* ('to water') and *irrigare* ('to irrigate') enables Henry to stress throughout his Chronicle that Riga's main aim is to baptize the heathens, in other words, to water them with baptismal water.[112] This association frames the text as a whole: it occurs in the opening verse of the Chronicle and claims the purpose of Riga is 'to irrigate (*irrigui*) and to give the holiest heavenly gifts to the land';[113] thereafter the verbs *rigare* and *irrigare* are frequently used in the descriptions of missions and the appeals to accept

of the Valga diet were pronounced again. Valk, 'The Significance of Baptism'; see also Vahemetsa, *Eestlaste võitlusest ristiusu*, pp. 161–62 (cited in Valk, 'The Significance of Baptism').

[112] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, IV. 5 (ref. 1 Corinthians 3. 6; Josue 15. 19: 'quam et Rigam appellant, vel a Riga lacu vel quasi irriguam, cum habeat inferius irriguum ac irriguum superius. Irriguum inferius, eo quod sit aquis et pascuis irrigua vel eo quod ministratur in ea peccatoribus plenaria peccaminum remission et per eam irriguum superius, quod est regun celorum, per consequens ministratur; vel Riga nova fide rigata et quia per eam gentes in circuitu sacro baptismatis fonte rigantur' (*The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 37: When Riga was established in 1201, the Livs are said to have called the place Riga, 'either from Lake Riga, or from irrigation (*irriguam*), since it is irrigated both from below and from above (*inferius irriguum ac irriguum superius*). It is irrigated from below, or, as they say, well moistened in its waters and pastures; or, since the plenary remission of sins is administered in it to sinners, the irrigation from above, that is, the kingdom of heaven is thus administered through it. Or, in other words, Riga, refreshed (*rigata*) by the water of the new faith, waters (*rigantur*) the tribes round about through the holy font of baltism'). I have analysed the functionality of watering motifs and their relation to the overall fertility imagery in Henry's Chronicle also in Kaljundi, 'The Motifs of Growth and Fertility'.

[113] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, p. 1: 'irrigui sacra donaque celicavult dare terra'; my translation, as the opening verse is not included in the English translation.

baptism. In total the Riga-*rigare* motif occurs about thirty times and reaches its triumph in the last chapter, where the author rejoices over the fulfilment of the goal of the Riga church, as after the conversion of Mohn (Est. Muhu) and Ösel (in 1227) it watered all the neighbouring heathens.[114] In this case, the author interestingly linked the watering topoi with spatial metaphors: after the conquest the priests are twice remarked to have 'thrown out Tharapita'.[115] Throwing out Tharapita, however, also signifies the drowning of Pharaoh.[116] Hence the conversion of the Ösel is linked to the Old Testament histories: the submersion of the Pharaoh refers to the Israelites crossing the Red Sea (Exodus 14. 23–29), but it also symbolizes the submersion of the devil in the waters of baptism, as Henry is here drawing on the Easter Liturgy.

There is yet another prominent group of landscape-related religious performances: burial rites. At its start the Chronicle already indicates that, at least according to Henry's understanding, burials and cemeteries can easily rise to the centre of military and cultural conflict. Considering the episcopal nature of his text, this is not surprising: as argued by the French medievalist Michel Lauwers, the evolution of Christian European cemeteries in the Middle Ages reflects the development of an idea according to which the Church is not only a spiritual but also a spatial concept, closely bound to material constructions.[117]

[114] 'Thus does Riga always water the heathens! Thus did she now water Oesel in the middle of the sea. By washing she purges sin and grants the kingdom of the skies. She furnishes both the higher and the lower irrigation' ('Sic, sic Riga semper rigat gentes! | Sic maris in medio nunc rigat Osiliam | Per lavacrum purgans vitium, dans regna polorum | Altius irriguum donat et inferius') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXX. 6: ref. Josue 15. 19; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 245).

[115] Firstly, after the conquest of the fort of Waldia (Est. Valjala) 'The priests were led with joy into the town in order to preach Christ and to throw out Tharapita, the god of the Oeselians'. Secondly, Henry argues that the other Öselians also 'brought priests with them to their forts to preach Christ, throw out Tharapita and the other pagan gods, and wash the people with holy baptism'. *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXX. 5; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, pp. 244–45. See also note 94.

[116] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXX. 6, citing Exodus 15. 4: 'Quo complete, quo facto, populo videlicet cuncto baptizato, Tharapita eiecto, Pharaone submerse, captives liberatis, redite cum gaudio Rigenses' (*The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 246: 'When this is finished, when it is done, when all the people are baptized, when Tharapita is thrown out, when Pharaoh is drowned, when the captives are freed, return with joy, O Rigans!'). For the liturgical background of this passage, see Arbusow, 'Das entlehnte Sprachgut', p. 125.

[117] See Lauwers, *Naissance du cimetière*.

It is noteworthy that the second Bishop of Üxküll, Berthold, was at first received cordially, but that his discord with the Livs began at the consecration of the cemetery at Holm, where 'some [Livs] conspired to burn him in the church, others to kill him, and others to drown him'.[118] During the crusades to Estonia Henry makes claims about the Estonians' aggression towards Christian cemeteries, which, of course, also serves to strengthen the crusading call: during a raid to Livonia in 1211 'they burned the empty villages and churches and, with their pagan sacrifices, committed many abominations around the churches and tombs of Christians'.[119] Thus in the Chronicle, remaining true to the Christian funeral habits functions on the one hand as a sign of remaining true to the true faith. The most outstanding examples of this are the careful descriptions of the faithful neophytes attending the Christian funerals of the first Livonian missionaries and clerics. When a certain monk named Siegfried died, 'A group of weeping converts bore and followed his little body to the church, as is customary among the faithful (*fidelium more*)'. To this Henry adds a widespread hagiographical topos, continuing: 'As sons for a beloved father, they made a coffin for him out of good timber.' They then discovered that one plank was too short and report how the plank was miraculously lengthened.[120]

On the other hand, restoring pagan burial customs becomes an important symbolic signifier of apostasy. Indeed, the Chronicle in general also emphasizes the attention that the local peoples pay to the remains of their deceased, for instance during the siege of Riga when the Kurs are presented as being more worried about the dead than about continuing the fight: after collecting their fallen comrades 'they rested for three days while cremating their dead and

[118] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, II. 2: 'alii in ecclesia concremare, alii occidere, alii submergere concertabant'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 32.

[119] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIV. 10: 'villas vacuas et ecclesias incenderunt et nequicias multas circa ecclesias et sepulchra mortuorum christianorum immolaticiis suis exercuerunt'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 104.

[120] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, VII. 6: 'Cuius corpusculum more fidelium ad ecclesiam deferens cum lacrimis neophitorum turba prosequitur. Cui tamquam filii dilecto patri sarcofagum de bonis lignis facientes'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 44. For a thorough analysis of the mortuary rituals and posthumous miracles in Henry's Chronicle, see Tamm, 'Martyrs and Miracles'. The Chronicle also remarks that after the passing of Bishop Meinhard 'The funeral was held according to custom (*morem*)' even though 'the bishop was buried to the false wailing and tears of the Livonians' (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, II. 1: 'Celebratis secundum morem exequiis et episcopo qualicunque Lyvonum planctu et lacrimis sepulto'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 31).

mourning over them'.[121] Pagan funerary rites are presented as the opposite of the Christian burials. For instance, Henry presents the Estonians celebrating funerals 'according to their custom, with much wailing and much drinking'.[122] The distinction of pagan and Christian customs is underlined by the emphasis on the radical difference between cremation and inhumation: the above-mentioned Estonians who arguably held funerals with drinking feasts are also said to have had 'cremated the pitiful bodies'.[123] This conflict of different burials is furthermore developed in a passage that presents how the revolting Estonians 'disinterred the bodies of their dead, who had been buried in cemeteries, and cremated them according to their original pagan custom (*more paganorum*)'.[124]

These and other similar passages can be interpreted as instances where physical elements of landscape, symbolic meaning, and textual tradition intermingle. It is worth briefly mentioning, however, that Henry's interest in the landscape and the concomitant images is also reflected on a more metaphorical and analogical level: while the clerics and crusaders of Riga are presented as planters, sowers, and waterers, the baptized lands and peoples are depicted as a virginal farmland (or vineyard) in need of cultivation.[125] With the help of these widespread biblical metaphors, conversion is presented as a cultivation process. On the one hand, this imagery has obvious colonial features, as it represents the missionaries and crusaders as active and authoritative agents (cultivators), and the baptized land and peoples as the passive and receptive agents (the ones that need to be cultivated). On the other hand, it seems to be yet another example of the biblical cerealization imagery that was so often used during the expansion of Latin Christianity and the territorialization of the notion of *Christianitas*, as argued by Robert Bartlett.[126] Nevertheless, the emphasis on the many land-

[121] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIV. 5: 'triduo quiescentes et moruos suos cremantes fecerunt planctum super eos'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 98.

[122] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XII. 6; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, pp. 86–87. See the next note for the Latin text.

[123] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XII. 6: 'tristia funera [...] multis diebus colligentes et igne cremantes, exequias cum lamentationibus et potationibus multis more suo celebrabant'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, pp. 86–87.

[124] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXVI. 8: 'corpora moruorum suorum, in cemeteriis sepulta, de sepulchris effoderunt et more paganorum pristino cremaverunt'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 210.

[125] For an analysis of this imagery, see Kaljundi, 'The Motifs of Growth and Fertility'.

[126] See Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 133–66.

scape-related rituals, both Christian and pagan, seems to reflect an idea that sanctity (as well as paganism) needs to be physically present and performed in order to effect a change, and that specific rites are to be performed with the people as well as to lands under conquest and conversion.

What is more, apart from the relationship between the Christian and pagan religion, ritual rivalry also charactizes the different missions to Livonia and Estonia, as during the course of her mission the Rigan church collided with the Russians, Danes, and, to a lesser extent, also Swedes. Henry's emphasis on the unorthodox baptismal practices of the Danish priests during the rivalry of the Danish and German-Rigan mission in northern Estonia in the early 1220s offers a particularly good example of the representational and rhetorical value of (arguably) unorthodox performances. According to Henry, the Danes made two attempts to establish their rule in Estonia with the campaigns to Ösel (1206) and Lindanise (1219); yet one must take into account that the Danes already had interests in the area prior to this, and that the Chronicle greatly downplays their role in the crusades.[127] The campaign to Ösel failed, but after the Danes had established themselves in northern Estonia (1219) and many of the Estonians were to accept Christianity from the Danes, the rivalry over the ecclesiastical rule in the region grew serious; among other strategic moves, Bishop Andreas Sunesen of Lund and Bishop Albert of Riga both appointed their own bishop for Dorpat (Est. Tartu). On a verbal and representational level also Henry takes part in this quarrel, presenting the Danes as performing their mission in an unorthodox manner: according to him,

> the Danes desired to take this neighbouring land for themselves and sent their priests, as it were, into a foreign harvest. They baptized some villages and sent their men to the others to which they could not come so quickly, ordering great wooden crosses to be made in all the villages. They sent the rustics with holy water and ordered them to baptize the women and children. They tried thereby to anticipate the Rigan priests and sought in this manner to put the land into the hands of the king of the Danes.[128]

[127] For the Danish crusades in the region, see first and foremost Lind and others, *Danske korstog*.

[128] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIV. 2: 'Sed Dani impsam terram sibi vicinam preoccupare cupientes sacerdotes suos quasi in alienam messem miserunt. Qui baptizantes villas quasdam et ad alias suos mittentes, ad quas ipsi venire tam subito non potuerunt, et cruces magnas ligneas in omnibus villis fieri precipientes et aquam benedictam per manus rusticorum mtitentes et mulieres ac parvulos aspergere iubentes, sacerdotes Rigenses taliter prevenire conabantur et hodo modo totam terram ad manus regis Danorum preoccupare studebant'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 189.

In addition, in describing the next Rigan mission to northern Estonia, Henry argues that the Danes encouraged the Estonians themselves to baptize their countrymen: when the Rigan priests sent to summon people from villages,

> A rustic, who was their elder, said: 'We are already all baptized.' When they [the Rigan missionaries] asked him by whose baptism they had been baptized, he replied: 'Since we were in the village of Ialgsama when a priest of the Danes performed the sacrament of baptism there, he baptized some of our men and gave us holy water. We returned to our own villages and each of us sprinkled our families, wives and children, with that same water. What more should we do? Since we have been baptized once, we will not receive it again.'[129]

The Russian interest was likewise present in Livonia before the German crusaders, and this is also reflected in the Chronicle. In this relation Henry does not fail to mention the differences in religious customs: when speaking of the Tholowa (Latv. Tālava) Livs who submitted to the power of the bishop of Riga in 1214, he writes 'They promised to change over from the Christian faith as they had received it from the Russians to the Latin use (*Latinorum consuetudinem*)', and that Bishop Albert of Riga sent his priest 'back with them to administer the sacraments of faith to them and to initiate them into Christian discipline'.[130] Of course, cooperation with the Russians was not rare especially

[129] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXIV. 5: 'Et ait rusticus, qui fuit senior eorum: "Iam omnes", inquit, "baptizati sumus." Et requirentibus illis, cuius baptismate baptizati essent, respondit ille: "Cum essemus in villa Iolgesim, quando sacerdos Danorum ibi baptismi sui tractavit sacramenta, baptisavit viros quosdam ex nostris et dedit nobis aquam sanctam, et reversi sumus ad proprias villas et cum eadem aqua aspersimus et baptizavimus unusquisuque nostram familiam, uxores et parvulos, et vobis ultra quid faciemus? Cum enim semel baptizati sumus, vos ultra non recipiemus"'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 193. In the same passage Henry states that the Danes have arguably also taken part in the rivalry over the Christianization of the landscape: telling how the Rigan missionaries baptized one village, the chronicler adds that 'The Danes afterwards built a church there, as they did in many other villages baptized by us' (ibid., p. 193).

[130] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVIII. 3: 'promittentes se fidem christianam a Ruthenis susceptam in Latinorum consuetudinem commutare [...] remittentes cum eis sacerdotem suum [...] qui eis fidei sacramenta ministrando discipline christiane dare inicia'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 136. The same passage also indicates well the practical and material terms of the confessional change, as 'they also promised to pay one measure of grain annually for each two horses, because they were protected by the bishop in peacetime as well as in war, were one heart and one spirit with the Germans, and rejoiced in the German's defence against the Esthonians and the Lithuanians' ('de duobus equis mensuram annone per singulos annos persolvere, eo quod tam pacis quam belli tempore semper

in the early phase of the mission, and the later confrontation of the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Church in the area was also about ecclesiastical and political power, not theology.[131] Yet the different views on orthodoxy of the rites (especially the baptismal rite, considering the context of conquest and conversion) were useful when there was a need to downplay the rivals on the representational level. Thus, on the one hand the Chronicle does not hesitate to name the Russians 'fellow Christians' (*conchristianos*) when describing making alliances with them.[132] On the other hand, when discussing the rivalry of the Russian princes and Riga over the tributary Livs and the Lettgallians, Henry stresses that the Russians neglect baptizing the natives, arguing in the case of Prince Vladimir of Polotsk: 'It is, indeed, the custom of the Russian kings not to subject whatever people they defeat to the Christian faith, but rather to force them to pay tribute and money to themselves.'[133] Moreover, Henry expands this

tuerentur ab episcopo et essent cum Theothonicis cor unum et anima una et contra Estones et Letones eorum semper gauderent defesione') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVIII. 3; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 136).

[131] As also argued in a recent thorough study on the relationship between the Rus and the Christian Livonians; see Selart, *Livland und die Rus'*. The impact of this political opposition on Henry's image of the Rus has been analysed in Schmidt, 'Das Bild der "Rutheni" bei Heinrich von Lettland', and Nielsen, 'Sterile Monsters? Russians and the Orthodox Church'.

[132] For example, when describing how a peace treaty was made with prince Vsevolod (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIII. 4).

[133] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVI. 2: 'Est enim consuetudo regum Ruthenorum, ut quamcunque gentem expugnaverint, non fidei christiane subicere, sed ad solvendum sibi tributum et pecuniam subiugare'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 122. The whole scene is developed to illustrate this idea: 'The king [Vladimir] asked, now blandly, now with pointed threats, that the bishop [Albert of Riga] cease baptizing the Livonians. The king maintained that the Livonians were his servants and that it was in his power to baptize them or to leave them unbaptized' ('Rex vero modo blandiciis, modo minarum asperitatibus episcopum conveniens, ut a Lyvonum baptismate cessaret, rogavit affirmans in sua esse potestate, servos suos Lyvones vel baptizare vel non baptizatos relinquere') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XVI. 2; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 122). Also the Novgorodians, after subjugating the Estonian fort of Odenpäh (Est. Otepää) in 1210, 'baptized a few of them [the Estonians] with their baptism (*baptismate suo quosdam ex eis baptizaverunt*), received four hundred *nogata* marks, left them, and went back to their country, saying that they would send back their priests to them to finish the holy regeneration of baptism'. Nevertheless, Henry continues, 'This they afterwards neglected, for the Ungannians later received priests of Riga, were baptized by them, and were numbered (*connumerati*) among the Rigan Christians' ('quod tamen postmodum neglexerunt. Nam Ugaunenses postea sacerdotes Rigensium susceperung et baptizati sunt ab eis et connumerati sunt cum Rigensibus') (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XIV. 2; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 95).

idea to the Russian Church as such, speaking of the 'Russian mother always sterile and barren, for she always attempted to subject lands to herself, not with the hope of the regeneration in the faith of Jesus Christ, but with the hope of loot and tribute'. Not surprisingly, this is contrasted with the Livonian church, the fertile, true, and original mother.[134]

In addition to the use of inverted and unorthodox performances as a legitimization strategy, I would like to refer to yet another idea from Mary Douglas — and one that is, to my mind, thought-provoking in the medieval context as well. Especially when exposed to boundaries and margins, one is subject to pressure and concerned with establishing hierarchies and order, and dreaming of internal coherence; one is concerned with what is not with it, part of it, and subject to its laws and hence potentially against it. Ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating, and punishing transgressions have as their main function the imposition of order on an inherently untidy experience; it is only by exaggerating the difference between within and without, above and below, with and against, that a semblance of order is created (and a meaning is imposed on the world).[135]

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is appropriate firstly to come back to these questions: Who carries out the performative acts, and equally importantly, Who records them? I would argue that it is significant to point out that the community behind texts like Henry's Chronicle, the frontier clergy (people devoted to history), was also the group who initiated, led, and influenced those processes. Like Henry, they staged the scenes both for missions and battlefields, as well as for the pages of history books. But could it be, then, that texts such as Henry's Chronicle represent the world view, concerns, and anxieties of a small clerical elite? I would like to argue that in Livonia (but also on a more general level) the crusading phenomenon brought along a significant change, and not only to the course of expansion in the uses of (inter)textuality, performativity, and past: as a shared experience of ritualization of present events, it changed the way in

[134] *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by Arbusow and Bauer, XXVIII. 4, citing Exodus 23. 26, the Breviary: 'sterilis semper et infecunda, que non spe regenerationis in fide Iesu Christi, sed spe tribulotorum et spoliorum terras sibi subiugare conatur'; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 222.

[135] Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 5.

which the history that was still being made was communicated to its participants, how its authoritative models were put into use in appropriation and how it was recorded in historical writing afterwards.

While a majority of the studies into the communicative role of rituals, performances, and gestures in medieval Europe have come to focus on the communicative role of ritual performances, could one claim that the same is also the case in this representation? How does the fact that common cultural and social knowledge (or sharing of meaningful structures and established codes) is needed in order to understand and take part in the performative public interactions relate to their use when the other party was presumably not provided with the code? For a long time, the Europeanization of the North was characterized as 'a clash of cultures', a notion that has lately been problematized (and to a certain extent replaced with the 'cultural encounter').[136] Many scholars, like Volker Scior in his recent article, have convincingly argued that 'the clash' is above all written into and by the textual tradition — relying on the authoritative model histories of clashing with the world of the Other.[137] What is more, when closely reading those 'clashes' one cannot but notice that the hostile party seems to share a profound knowledge of this tradition, because in their plundering and performances of idolatry they act according to the biblical scenery — and even speak with the voices of the antagonists of the Scripture: the Amorites, Philistines, Judas, etc. This, however, makes not only the whole concept of 'clashing cultures' highly problematical, but also the image of how these clashes were performed. On the other hand (and only when we stop looking for pagan rituals), this does not diminish its value with regard to the medieval European understanding of symbolic behaviour. Therefore, I would like to argue that the pagan rituals also gain meaning in the Christian system (or discourse), and as such can be revealing with regard to those modes of symbolic behaviour which are considered meaningful and relevant, or performances which have a power to impose changes and meaning upon the world, to effect a change.

In this sense the re-presentation and re-enactment of performances do reveal political realities. But can those performances also be revealing in regards to culture (or symbolic dimensions of social action)? In other words, are they above all means of not only textual, but also social representation? Perhaps we

[136] For the latest reflection on these issues in the Baltic context, see Murray, *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*.

[137] Scior, 'Kulturkonflikte? Christen, Heiden und Barbaren'. See also Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde* for a thorough analysis of the development of the pagan Other in the Saxon missionary chronicles.

can overcome the dichotomy by linking those two aspects. In our quest for the social and cultural dimension, we should treat Henry's accounts as valuable for the study of the principles involved in the universe of a particular culture, in this case the role of rituals for medieval Europeans and especially their frontier communities. They reflect what was considered important for the Christianization process and for making a Christian European identity at the frontier (for the others, it was a passage from the rites of alterity to the Christian rites; for 'us', it was a missionary and crusading process). Yet, even though social forms are the coordinates of the experienced world, in analysing them one should avoid constructing systematic rules. They are rather marked by fluidity, flexibility, and variability — a feature characteristic of performative practices that Peter Burke has recently called 'occasionalism'.[138] As Gerd Althoff has argued, especially in exceptional situations the medieval people 'varied, mixed, or updated them [the rituals] in keeping with the given situation or even invented new rituals if there was no suitable pre-existing ritual language at their disposal' which, of course, also produced new meanings.[139] Ritual elements (familiar gestures and actions) could be combined in a wide variety of ways, and their inherent innovation and modification becomes apparent when fitting them with circumstances or persons, or using known rituals in new places (or in an inverted manner), which sometimes can result in ambiguity, spontaneity, disputed outcomes and meanings.

In addition, I would also like to suggest that the abundance of rites refers to a special kind of memory culture (one closely connected with the understanding of an *imitatio*), which we might call a historicization of the frontier. Therefore the primary subject of this article is not in fact only the anthropology of crusade and mission, but also what could be called anthropology of historicization.[140] David A. Warner has argued that 'as historical events, medieval rituals are chiefly approached through accounts compiled by ecclesiastical literati, men and women who cultivated the art of memory and understood its capacity to inform both the present and future'.[141] These accounts are characterized by the active manner in which such communities addressed their history and the present affairs — as exemplified, for instance, by the facility by

[138] Burke, 'Performing History'.

[139] Althoff, 'The Variability of Rituals', pp. 73, 83–84.

[140] Faubion, 'History in Anthropology', p. 45. Or, of studying 'approaches historciantes du monde', as Alain Délivré has put it (Faubion, 'History in Anthropology', p. 49).

[141] Warner, 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich', p. 259.

which monasteries altered their foundation legends or inscribed new meanings on relics and monuments. Furthermore, drawing on Patrick J. Geary, Warner reminds us that the act of remembering 'changed the very nature of what would be preserved'.[142] I would like to add that it also changed the way they were preserved. Thus in studying the performative, we could also treat it as a process of active memory-making, that is, of making current history memorable by linking it with the past via re-enacting and requoting past history. This reflects an understanding in which the reperformance of the past also means giving significance to our action and (re)affirming the continuity and coherence of the shared experience, thereby contributing to the establishment of memory and identity at the frontier. And, indeed, memory is something that can be made and shaped, both via writing it down and via reperforming it in new rituals — especially at the frontier, in areas and moments of crisis, where rituals and acts of continuity (as well as of possession) become crucial.

[142] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; cited in Warner, 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich', p. 259.

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ARTICLE FOUR

Linda Kaljundi, Expanding communities: Henry of Livonia on the making of a Christian colony, early thirteenth century. – Imagined Communities on the Baltic Rim, 11th – 15th Centuries, eds. Wojtek Jezierski, Lars Hermanson, Auður Magnúsdóttir (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press) [positive peer-reviews received in August 2015; book included into the publishers production plan for the year 2016].

Expanding Communities

Henry of Livonia on the Making of a Christian Colony, Early Thirteenth Century.

Linda Kaljundi

In 1839, the Baltic-German artist Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell published the opening volume of his *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*. One of the illustrations of this first Baltic history in images depicted *A Biblical Play in Riga.*[1] This fine theatrical performance recalls the nineteenth-century historical dramas. Yet, the engraving is based on a passage from the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (*c.* 1225-1227), which covers the crusades, mission, and colonisation in today's Latvia and Estonia in around 1180s-1227. The chronicle describes the scene in a following way:

> That same winter a very elaborate play of the prophets was performed in the middle of Riga in order that the pagans might learn the rudiments of the Christian faith by an ocular demonstration. The subject of this play was most diligently explained to both converts and pagans through an interpreter. When, however, the army of Gideon fought the Philistines, the pagans began to take flight, fearing lest they be killed, but they were quietly called back. This play was like a prelude and prophecy of the future for in the same play there were wars, namely those of David, Gideon, and Herod, and there was the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments. Certainly, through the many wars that followed, the pagans were to be converted and, through the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, they were to be told how they might attain to the true Peacemaker and eternal life.[2]

While earlier interpretations have indeed treated the event as a theatrical play, in the recent years scholars have called to revise this understanding. Nils Holger Petersen claims that the *ludus magnus* 'may have been anything from a large-scale enactment of biblical wars and fighting, combined with an exhortation to remind pagans of the urgency of their conversion, to a more traditional Latin sung play text of a more or less liturgically informed kind […] Whatever the case, it seems that, for his description, Henry chose to justify the violent conversion of the pagans in the Baltic by using Old Testament models.'[3] Although some contemporary plays show analogies with Henry's description and allow to fit it into the broad context of religious enactments around 1200, it seems plausible to agree that any discussion about the

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[1] *Biblisches Shauspiel in Riga, 1204*. – von Maydell, *Fünfzig Bilder*, Bild 9. Detailed comments of the image and the historical milieu it represents are provided in *Friedrich Ludwig von Maydelli*, pp. 99, 121-122. Maydell dates the event to 1204, while the correct year would be 1205-1206.

[2] HCL IX.14, p. 32; Brundage, p. 53: 'Eadem hyeme factus est ludus prophetarum ordinatissimus in media Riga, ut fidei christiane rudimenta gentilitas fide disceret oculata. Cuius ludi materia tam neophitis quam paganis, qui aderant, per interpretem diligentissime exponebatur. Ubi autem armati Gedeonis cum Phylisteis pugnabant, pagani timentes occidi fugere ceeprunt, sed caute sunt revocati. Sic ergo ad modicum tempus siluit ecclesia in pace quiescendo. Iste autem ludus quasi preludium et presagium erat futurorum. Nam in eodem ludo erant bella, utpote David, Gedeonis, Herodis; erat et doctrina Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quia nimirum per bella plurima que sequuntur convertenda erat gentilitas, et per doctrinam Veteris et Novi Testamenti erat instruenda, qualiter ad verum pacificum et ad vitam perveniat eternam.'

[3] Petersen 'The Notion of a Missionary Theatre', p. 242.

precise details of the *ludus magnus* must end in speculation.[4] This however does not mean omitting the performance's relevance in the border area. This is also suggested by the fact that at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, similar re-enactments of biblical events were practiced on other missionary frontiers, having been organized with the aim to lay the foundations for the continuity of worship amongst the neophytes.[5]

Henry's passage reflects well the role of rituals in conquest and conversion, but also the overall importance of the ritualization of political and social life in the Middle Ages. Recently, this has been emphasised by a number of studies focusing on the social role of medieval rituals. Encouraged by the spread of historical anthropology into diverse fields of historical scholarship, these studies aim to take the social role of performances seriously – instead of treating them as mere show and masquerade[6]. Departing from this research tradition, this chapter will address the role of performances during the missionary crusades in medieval Livonia. Concentrating on the above-mentioned Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, the following discussion is especially interested in how the chronicler represents the public rituals and displays of emotion to have contributed to the subjugation and integration of native groups, as well as the construction of the new Christian community at the frontier.

Similarly to rituals, the medieval perceptions and constructions of community have been an object of lively scholarly interest, as also suggested by this book.[7] The issue of community has likewise been raised in the studies of the medieval enlargement of Christian Europe.[8] Much of this research argued for the fundamental importance of the expansion for the formation of Latin Christian identity. As this process brought the Europeans into contact with a number of peoples, it enabled to define Christendom by way of negation and opposition. Also within Europe, the medieval formation of the Christian community was inseparable from the segregation of the outcasts. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215), contemporary to the Livonian crusades, was a major landmark in establishing 'a machinery of persecution for Western Christendom'.[9] Thus a number of authors have poignantly drawn attention to the importance of the construction of the other for defining the Christian community – be the other then the non-Christians at the frontiers of Europe, or the Jews, heretics, or other marginalized groups within Europe.[10]

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[4] Petersen 'The Notion of a Missionary Theatre', p. 243.

[5] As argued in Bolton, 'Message, celebration, offering', p. 103. The use of such performances was especially characteristic to the reign of pope Innocent III who also produced several regulations for such liturgical performances in the frontier areas. *Ibid.*, pp. 93–97. Schneider, 'Straßentheater im Missionseinsatz' also analyses Henry's description in a missionary context. A bibliography of relevant studies is provided in *Ibid.*, pp. 107–111.

[6] As put by Clifford Geertz in his 'Blurred Genres', pp. 171-172.

[7] For an overview of the new approaches to the medieval *communitas*, see *Visions of Community*. See also the introduction to the current volume.

[8] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*.

[9] Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, pp. 6-11. What the council changed most significantly was that it laid down a range of sanctions, which was to prove adaptable to a much wider variety of outcasts (e.g. the Jews, lepers, gays) than the heretics for whom it was designed (*Ibid.*)

[10] Berend, 'Défense de la Chrétienté'.

This chapter suggests another perspective for examining the formation of the high medieval Christian identity, arguing that this process was shaped not only by the exclusion, but also by the inclusion of other groups into the body of Christendom. The missionary crusades fought around the Baltic Sea offer examples of this, as they brought along the need to integrate the native neophytes into the Christian community. The Livonian expeditions, similarly to the Wendish campaigns in the second half of the twelfth century and Prussian crusades that started in the early thirteenth century bore witness to the close combination of conquest, conversion, and crusading. This differentiates the area sharply from the traditional theatres of the crusades that did not witness any large-scale efforts for the conversion of the non-Christians.[11] It is worth stressing that admitting the importance of including the other for the making of Christian community does however not mean omitting the potentially highly aggressive and oppressive nature of this integration, which was based on warfare and power.

Focusing on the adoption of Christian rituals to the borderlands, and the involvement of the recently subjugated peoples in these performances can provide fresh angles for exploring the social role of rituals in the Middle Ages, which have been mostly studied in connection to the centres of medieval Europe.[12] At the same time, analysing them through chronicles – such as the one by Henry of Livonia – also raises a number of questions that have lately been widely debated in connection to medieval rituals. Even though the recent decades have revitalised studying the social dimensions of medieval performances, as well as liturgies[13], the approach has also been heavily contested.[14] The critics have mainly stressed the fact that we have no unmediated access to medieval rituals, as well as pointed to the partisan aims of the authors of those narrative and visual representations.[15] The depictions of the community-building function of medieval rituals are a particularly poignant example of this, as medieval authors were often inclined towards showing as great a unity and concord as possible.

This chapter tangles the above-stated questions through Andersonian terms of imagining a community that are central to this book as a whole.[16] Even though Benedict Anderson's study is concerned with the specifics of modern nationalism, he poignantly argues that 'all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are im-

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[11] Although there also circulated ideas of the conversion of the Muslims into Christianity, as shown by Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*. Next to these, the crusades also brought along the often highly violent conversion of the Jews within Europe, see Riley-Smith, 'The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews'.

[12] A trend most influentially exemplified by Gerd Althoff's studies on the Ottonian *Reich* (e.g. his *Spielregeln der Politik*).

[13] Palazzo, *La liturgie*, esp. pp. 194-212.

[14] Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*. For two biased, but stimulating overviews of the debate, see Koziol, 'Review article' and Buc, 'The monster and the critics'.

[15] The criticism was particularly strongly voiced during the debate provoked by Philippe Buc's book *The Dangers of Ritual* (2001). E.g. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, Warner, 'Ritual and memory'. The issue has been topical in connection to historical anthropology in general, as following the ideas of functionalist anthropology, historians have tended to overstress system, order and consensus at the expense of change and conflict. Davis, 'The possibilities of the past', pp. 274–275.

[16] Anderson, *Imagined communities*.

agined'.[17] Anderson continues by adding that 'communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style they are imagined'.[18] Anderson chiefly focused on media and genres characteristic to the era of modern nationalism and print capitalism[19], while this study examines history writing from medieval frontier. The potential of medieval and modern historiography for imagining a community have no doubt been crucially different due to the major dissimilarities in the spread of these texts and the scale of their readership. Nevertheless, Anderson's call to study the various styles of imagining a community is relevant also for a medieval narrative. Although the circulation of medieval texts was incomparable with the modern or even early modern period, a number of studies have pointed to the role of medieval historiography in forging communal identities. While the layers of literary culture were particularly thin in the recently converted borderlands, Patrick Geary has well argued that medieval history writing showed its full functionality namely in these areas.[20]

The current study also tackles the potential of rituals in constructing new identities at the frontiers. As shall be analysed in closer detail below, Henry's chronicle aimed to show that the core ideas of the Livonian crusades and the community were constantly repeated in different media – texts, liturgies, and rituals. Even if details, or even the very existence of the performances described by Henry shall always remain in doubt, his narrative constantly highlights the importance of performances in the construction of crusades and Christian community in Livonia.[21] Moreover, although today scholars have often juxtaposed text and ritual, in Henry's representation they appear as two complementary media that are both involved in establishing Christian authority in Livonia. Recently, the idea of remediation has been especially prominent in cultural memory studies. Here scholars have been developing the argument that in order to establish effective collective memories and identities it is crucial to repeat the same ideas in different media, which could stretch from history writing to various ceremonies.[22] This angle offers fruitful perspectives for the study of medieval historiography.[23] Although we know of the Christianisation of the Nordic and Baltic realms largely through historiography, in the following we also make an attempt to treat historiography as one among several media that the medieval elites used for organizing collective memories and identities.

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[17] Andreson, *Imagined communities*, p. 6.

[18] Andreson, *Imagined communities*, p. 6.

[19] As one of Anderson's key arguments states, it was namely print capitalism 'which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways'. Andreson, *Imagined communities*, p. 36.

[20] Geary, 'Reflections on Historiography'.

[21] In connection to the representations of rituals in the Ottonian sources, David A. Warner has pointed towards a similar perspective. Admitting that 'the degree to which an account of a ritual corresponds with the actual event must always remain doubt', Warner argues that 'the very fact that ritual exerted such a powerful influence on the historical imagination offers still other, potentially fruitful avenues of inquiry'. Warner 'Ritual and memory', p. 260

[22] See Rigney, 'Plenitude, scarcity', drawing on Jan and Aleida Assmann's concept of *kulturelle Gedächtnis*.

[23] This argument has recently been pointed out in connection to the study of the Nordic frontier, see Mortensen, 'Introduction', pp. 12-13. For the growing emphasis on the various media of medieval *memoria*, see *Medieval Concepts of the Past*.

Contextualisations – crusading and the making of a Christian community in Livonia

The Livonian crusades and the making of a Christian community in these borderlands should be viewed at the background of a much broader Christianization process. Although mostly religious terms are used for designating this major medieval expansion, this process had a significant social dimension, as it first and foremost meant the integration of the frontiers into Latin European structures and the re-organization of the society according to the Western Christian models. The Nordic and Baltic fringes of Europe were no exception in this.[24] As a good reminder that the Christianization was not uniform, the Eastern parts of the Baltic Sea region also showed significant variances in comparison to its neighbours. The conversion of Scandinavia was accompanied by the rise of mostly indigenous Christian monarchy.[25] In contrast, the Slavic and Eastern Baltic lands were colonised by the Latin Christians who settled into these Eastern European territories mostly from Germany, but also other Northern and Central European lands. However, while in the late twelfth century the Wendish territories bore witness to the large-scale immigration of European peasantry, this did not happen in Livonia. Still a new, mostly German-speaking ruling class gradually also started to dominate in these lands.

At the Wendish borderlands war and mission ended in the 1160s-1170s. The Livonian crusades started almost immediately thereafter, being initiated by the secular and clerical lords of Saxony and Denmark who had also been behind the subjugation of the Wendish territories. From the 1170s, there are first signs of the Danish missionary and crusade aspirations in Livonia. In the 1180s, the Germans established their first missionary outposts in Livonia at the local trading route, the Düna (Lat. Daugava) river.[26] The establishment of strongholds shortly led to conflict with the native Livs, as well as neighbouring Lithuanians and Russians. Thus, since 1198 we can speak of a more or less regular flow of crusaders from Germany and also from Denmark to Livonia. In 1201, the town of Riga was founded at the mouth of the Düna, which became the new centre for the Christian colony of the Germans. As the Livish and Lettgallian peoples were converted and subjugated to the new lords in the early 1200s, the crusades were directed towards the Estonian territories in around 1208. In the early 1220s, the Danish crusaders gaining success established their own stronghold and spiritual centre in Tallinn in Northern Estonia – an initiative that lead to a conflict between the Danish and the German mission. This chapter covers the Livonian crusades only until the year 1227, which is the ending date of Henry's chronicle. At this point the German crusaders had gained domination over all of Livonia and Estonia, as well as temporarily outmanoeuvred the Danish king.

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[24] As well analysed in the framework of a considerable new and international research interest into the Christianisation of the Baltic Sea region, see *Crusade and Conversion*, and *The Clash of Cultures*.

[25] This development is often compared with similar processes in Central Europe and Russia, see Berend, *Christianisation and the Rise of Christian Monarchy*.

[26] In the 1180s, the first fortified Christian centres were established to Üxküll (Lat. Ikšķile) and Holme (Lat. Mārtiņsala), around 40 km upstream from the Düna river.

Yet the conflicts over hegemony in Livonia and Estonia lasted well into the late thirteenth century.

Focusing on Henry's work, which constitutes the only preserved contemporary chronicle about the early thirteenth-century Livonian crusades, this chapter inevitably deals with the German visions about the making of a Christian community around the Church of Riga. The majority of the leading knights, clerics and others who stood behind the German crusade enterprise in Livonia also had a remarkably similar background, as they originated from the Northern-German *ministeriales*. Emblematic of this was the social belonging of the bishop of Riga and one of the chief leaders of the crusades, Albert of Buxhoevden (r. 1199-1229), who belonged to the *ministeriales* of Bremen, as did his two predecessors. Quite likely the aforementioned chronicler Henry also originated from the same circles.[27] This background must have made him deeply familiar with the missionary and colonial history of the Saxon-Slavic frontier, as well as shaped his visions of the Christian community (see also Wojtek Jezierski's chapter). Curiously Henry makes no mentioning of the earlier Christianisation history however. This might be explainable with the aspirations of the Church of Riga to become an independent archdiocese and free from its subordination to the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen. Loyalty to his institution appears to have been one of the most important factors shaping Henry's work. His apologetic attitude derives not only from Riga's aspirations for ecclesiastical independence, but also from the overall situation in Livonia where many diverse groups fought for hegemony. Next to the native peoples, pagan Lithuanians and Orthodox Russians, there also emerged rivalries between the different Latin Christian groups (Germans, Danes, Swedes), as well as the fractions within the German side.[28]

Even though most scholars admit the value of Henry's chronicle as a good example of high medieval history writing at crusading frontier, they also tend to stress that the text is deeply biased.[29] For the aims of the present study, nevertheless, Henry's partial – and also strongly clerical – perspective is not necessarily a fault. Due to his keen concern for the privileges of his church and close involvement in expanding Christendom, his history of the Livonian crusades provides a good close-up perspective on various rituals. This, in turn, enables us to study the making and imagining of a community from a number of aspects, even if the very existence of concrete rituals described by Henry shall always remain in doubt. One should also assume that his vision of a community was inclined towards showing as great a unity as possible. Likely, his representation of rituals has not remained untouched by this goal. The

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[27] Johansen, 'Die Chronik'; Brundage, 'Introduction', pp. 1-5. Moreover, it seems quite possible that Henry had gained his education from the Augustinian monastery in Segeberg that had been the leading centre for educating the missionaries for the Christianisation of the Wendish frontier. Also Meinhard, the first bishop of Livonia (r. 1186-1196) was an Augustinian from Segeberg.

[28] The German side of the Livonian crusades was gradually torn into internal struggles, as the Order of the Sword Brethren (founded in 1202) started to demand their share of the conquered lands. Next to this, the other major institution of the early years of crusading in Livonia was the Cistercian order that founded its own Dünamunde (Lat. Daugavgriva) monastery at the mouth of the Düna River (1205-1208).

[29] For a range of new perspectives on Henry's chronicle, see *Crusading and Chronicle Writing*. For the discussions on the involvement of the chronicler in the crusade endeavour and his partiality, see Johansen, 'Die Chronik'; Brundage, 'Introduction'; Tyerman, 'Henry of Livonia'.

image of coherence was also supported by the numerous typological analogies with biblical history, backed by almost omnipresent biblical and liturgical citations.[30] At the same time, mid-range clerics like Henry were those who actually organized and orchestrated the rituals for the frontier crusades and frontier communities. Since these rituals were greatly based on the same biblical and liturgical language and commemorated often the same biblical events, this would also suggest that the public performances of community-making relied on the very same vocabulary as Henry's chronicle

Before moving to Henry's accounts on rituals and expansion, however, one should briefly sketch his overall approach to the role of Christian community in the context of crusade and mission. Throughout his chronicle, Henry develops an imagery of a little group of Christians at the frontier, encircled and threatened by the pagans and apostates.[31] Even though it seems plausible to believe that Christian faith was not that unfamiliar in Livonia as Henry claimed, at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the number of especially foreign Christians (crusaders, clerics, merchants, members of the spiritual and military orders) who were loyal to the Church of Riga was no doubt small. Strategically, this lack of loyal manpower must have been a serious problem, but in terms of crusade rhetoric and ideology, it was surely an asset. The small number of Christians and their vulnerability also are one of the central elements of the image and authority of Riga as the 'new church' (*novella ecclesia*).[32] The chronicle steadily points to the frequent tribulations of its still few members who, surrounded by pagans, are yet relieved by the help of God who 'with so few men and in the midst of pagans, always maintained His church'.[33] In the Christian tradition, the appraisal of the small and threatened community of believers was age-old and Henry too typologically compared the Livonian Christians both with the Old Testament Israelites and the early Christians. This image of a small Christian frontier community was well established in the regional hagiography and history writing, as well shown in the current volume by Jezierski's chapter on the representations of missionary communities around the Baltic Sea. It was of great importance for the crusades too, since the protection of Christian community was one of the key elements of legitimating the crusades, which was frequently used in papal calls for crusades, sermons, and historiography. Once established, hence, the Riga Church provided its own justification, as Christopher Tyerman has remarked: as a Christian outpost, always in demand of liberation, it suited well with the key ideas of crusade ideology.[34]

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[30] Arbusow, 'Das entlehnte', *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung*. For a re-reading of citation and typology in Henry's chronicle, see Undusk, 'Sacred history'.

[31] The small number of the Germans is emphasised in HCL IX.3, pp. 27-28; X.12, pp. 41-43; XXI.7, p. 147; XXII.3, pp. 149-150; XXV.4, pp. 183-184; XXVIII.1, p. 199; and that of the crusaders in general in HCL VI.1, p. 16; XXV.1, p. 177.

[32] The notion 'novella ecclesia' occurs in HCL X.8, p. 37; XVI.2, p. 104; XIX.7, p. 132; XXII.1, p. 147; XXIV.4, p. 174.

[33] HCL X.13, p. 43; Brundage p. 64: 'eo quod in medio gencium in tanta paucitate virorum suam semper conservat ecclesiam'. The Livonian Church also is called 'still-small' (HCL XII.5, p. 61; Brundage, p. 82: 'adhuc parva'); and the Estonian Church 'weak and an infant' (HCL XXVIII.4, pp. 201–202; Brundage, p. 222: 'parvula adhuc infirma').

[34] Tyerman, 'Henry of Livonia', p. 37.

Yet, it can be misleading to think that the crusades only appropriated an image of a Christian community. They also offered various discursive and performative tools for the making of this community. The Livonian crusades coincided with the high point of the crusade movement and thus they could benefit from the development of crusade institutions and communication as well as ideology and vocabulary.[35] The text of Henry's chronicle also shows well how the crusades provided a rich repertoire of tropes and ideas under which to unite the identity of the new community. Equally importantly, the campaigns to Livonia ran parallel with the development of the crusade rituals towards greater coherence.[36] This is noticeable in the way Henry highlighted various crusade processions, liturgies, and other symbolic practices.[37] Next to the ritualization of warfare[38], Henry was also keen to stress the involvement of the whole Christian community in many of these occasions.

The involvement of the entire Christian community in crusade rituals also relates to another tendency characteristic to the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At around that time, the performance of intercessory liturgies, processions, and prayers in support of the crusades spread widely throughout Western Christendom.[39] This process echoed, what has been labelled by Christoph T. Maier as Pope Innocent III's (r. 1198-1261) 'vision of a Christian society organized for the *negotium Crucis*'.[40] On the one hand, the aspiration to involve the whole society into the crusades was closely bound to pastoral concerns, as liturgies enabled people to take part in spiritual aspects of crusading. On the other hand, the involvement of the communities in the intercessory liturgies organized at the home front did not lack strategic considerations, which found further support in ideas about the providential nature of religious warfare.[41] To cite Maier once again, in the view of Pope Innocent, 'only a society which was properly organized for participation in the crusade and in which everybody contributed to the business of the cross could sway God's favour and ensure the success of the movement'.[42]

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[35] Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 245. The more distinctive vocabulary also included of a corpus of scriptural references and paraphrases, the influence of which also is visible in Henry's chronicle, as shown in Tyerman, 'Henry of Livonia'. For the ideology of the Livonian crusades, as well as to its connections with the contemporary crusade discourse, see also Tamm, 'How to justify'. The communication between Riga and Rome is tackled in Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes*.

[36] The emergence of a more specific crusade liturgy particularly after the defeat of Hattin (1187) is a good example of this. See Linder, *Raising Arms*.

[37] For a reading of Henry's representation of crusade rituals as a re-enactment of the sacred past, see Kaljundi, 'Re-performing the Past', pp. 305-312.

[38] The close intertwining of ritual practices and warfare characterized already the First Crusade, which struck contemporaries 'as being like a military monastery on the move, constantly at prayer'. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, p. 84, see also pp. 83-86.

[39] Most important of the new practices was the inclusion of the Holy Land Clamour in mass and in office. Linder, *Raising Arms*, p. 97. Cf. Maier, 'Crisis, liturgy', pp. 631–634; Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist', p. 352.

[40] Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist', p. 352, cf. pp. 354-355.

[41] Concerning the religious warfare in Iberia, for example, Joseph F. O'Callaghan has even argued that religious rituals were 'equally important as considerations of strategy'. O'Callaghan, *Reqonquest and Crusade*, p. 177. For his analysis of the uses of liturgy during the reconquista, see *Ibid.*, pp. 177-208.

[42] Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist', p. 355. This also led to a multiplication of the ways in which people could take part in crusades (e.g. partial indulgences for those who helped to finance the campaigns) and thereby had a

Thus we may assume that in Livonia, too, the unification of the whole Christian community for the crusade effort was important not only for practical but also for spiritual reasons. At a borderland where the number of Christians was vanishingly small, the belief that only a concerted effort of all the faithful could lead to a success of crusading must have resulted in a considerable concern for the devotional involvement of the whole community. What, however, made Livonia different from many crusading frontiers, equally ill-populated with Christians (such as the Holy Land) was the involvement of the neophytes into the Christian community and the spiritual effort for the crusades.

The integration of the neophytes – crusading and community-building

As a missionary narrative, Henry's chronicle eagerly emphasised the growth of Christendom in Livonia. A good indication of this emphasis is the chronicler's abundant use of agricultural and fertility metaphors for the enlargement of Christianity, as he speaks of cultivating the vineyard, or envisions the Church of Riga as a productive mother.[43] These powerful images, emblematic to the reign of Innocent III, first and foremost relate to the ecclesiastical institution. Next to this, Henry also appears to have been highly interested in representing the people who made up the body of the church, carefully describing the integration of the neophytes into the Christian community.

Stressing the role of various rituals in this process, Henry particularly points to public displays of emotions. This illuminates well the social role of medieval emotions, which has recently been emphasized by a number of scholars.[44] This view differs remarkably from the earlier paradigm – best illustrated by Johan Huizinga – that stressed the irrationality of medieval emotions and saw them as a destabilising element in politics.[45] As argued, among others by Gerd Althoff, ritual demonstrations were a leading element in medieval governance that was based on personal relations rather than institutions.[46] The extravagance of medieval emotions thus does not derive from any primitive lack of restraint, but from their active role in the social and political life of the period.[47] This approach enables to see medieval emotional displays as goal-oriented – and to discuss how they, for example, contributed to the making of

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strong effect on crusade propaganda, which became aimed as much at people who supported the crusade on the home front as the participants of the crusades. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist', pp. 354-555, 360.

[43] Kaljundi, 'Young church'.

[44] For one of the pioneering studies on the topic, see Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik*, pp. 258-281.

[45] Thus Huizinga's widely influential *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (first published in 1919) treated the period as an age of emotional chaos, also starting with a chapter on 'The Violent Tenor of Life'. Another classic of cultural and social history promoting similar views about the primitiveness of emotions and the lack of emotional control in the Middle Ages was Norbert Elias.

[46] Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik*, pp. 258-262.

[47] In connection to the crusades, this has challenged the traditional view according to which the strong emotional element has been interpreted as an expression of the irrationality of crusading. Menache 'Love of God or Hatred'. The role of emotions in crusades and crusade discourse has however been studied but very little, as also pointed out by Menache: 'the crusades and the Latin states of the Outremer offer a precious source of research on a rich spectrum of emotions, which in many aspects still remains a *terra incognita*' (*Ibid.*, p. 2, cf. p. 19).

social bonds. Also Barbara Rosenwein's influential concept *emotional communities* has highlighted the functionality of emotions in building medieval collectivities.[48] Yet, the role of emotions has also been studied mostly from the perspective of the core areas of Europe, similarly to the treatment of the ritualisation of medieval social life. The missionary crusades, however, offer a different kind of material for exploring these issues, of which Henry's chronicle is a good example. At these frontiers, emotional displays were closely related to the submission and integration of the other. Henry's chronicle also points to another characteristic feature and this concerns the dynamic representation of the native population. This dynamics was based on the belief in the fundamental transformative power of baptism. Baptism not only was the most important among Christian sacraments, demarcating initiation into Christian faith, but it also was the precondition for integrating the other into the Christian community.[49] During the time Henry was writing his work, this mainly concerned the Lettgallians and Livs.[50]

Our chronicler organizes the representation of this major transformation – which includes conversion, submission, and integration – around an equally major emotional change. At first, Henry's depiction of the transfer from paganism into the acceptance of Christianity focuses on the rejection of the fundamental vices. This finely reflects the binary logic behind the medieval understanding of virtues and emotions.[51] One of the key vices of the natives, perfidy was prominently presented in the very beginning of the chronicle, which told of the early mission in Livonia in the 1180s-1190s. These chapters were also to provide a legitimisation of the Livonian crusades. Henry thus carefully represented two Livish groups making and then breaking the promise to accept baptism.[52]

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[48] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*.

[49] Palazzo, *La liturgie*, pp. 41-47.

[50] Due to the course of the Livonian crusades, Henry's chronicle describes mainly the integration of the Livs and Lettgallians who were subjugated to the Christian rule during the first decade of the thirteenth century, whereas the Estonians were finally conquered and converted only in the 1220s and the chronicle, ending with the year 1227 does not reach much beyond describing their submission.

[51] Similarly to the way main Christian virtues and vices constituted a binary system, as noted by Barbara Rosenwein (in her *Emotional communities*), all central emotions of medieval Latin Christendom also functioned in very close association with their opposite.

[52] According to Henry, both the Livs dwelling near Üxküll and Holme promise to accept the faith in return of a castle (HCL I.5, 6, p. 3 and I.7, p. 3 respectively), yet refuse to do so when the forts are ready (HCL I.6, p. 3 and I.9, p. 4). The Üxküll Livs make the promise even twice: at first, they 'confirmed by an oath that they would receive baptism' (HCL I.5, p. 3; Brundage, p. 26: 'ut baptismum recipiant, iuramento firmatur') and shortly afterwards 'confirmed the sincerity of their intentions a second time' (HCL I.6, p. 3; Brundage, p. 26: 'sinceritas a Lyvonibus confirmatur secundo'). Thereafter the Holme Livs are said to have 'cheated Meinhard by making a similar promise' (HCL I.7, p. 3; Brundage, p. 27: 'simili promissione prefatum Meynardum circumvenientes'). The story does not appear strange, considering that the forts must have had a considerable military importance. For the current analysis, however, the story is interesting due to the perfidy motif.

The story about the early German mission to Livonia also introduced another vice, stubbornness.[53] Given that most of the chronicle deals with the crusades against the Estonians, stubbornness as well as pride were mainly used for explaining their resistance to the Christian rule.[54] The choice does not appear as random. Perfidy, stubbornness, and pride were the fundamental vices of medieval Christendom. Having both religious and feudal connotations, they illustrated well how closely intertwined the feudal and religious terminology were in medieval Europe, especially from the eleventh century onwards. In the framework of missionary crusades, the combination is particularly significant, because the native's fidelity towards the new rule was closely connected with their fidelity towards the new faith. This no doubt enabled to treat resistance and revolt as an attack against Christianity. At the same time, perfidy provided a good justification for a missionary war. The charge of apostasy, contrary to this of paganism, allowed for the use of force in bringing the relapsed Christians back to the true faith.[55]

All the above-mentioned concepts are supported by typological comparisons to the biblical past, which Henry has extensively used for conceptualising Livonian history. The connections with the sacred are backed by almost omnipresent biblical and liturgical citations in the work of Henry.[56] While in this framework perfidy was connected to Judas, pride and stubbornness related to the foes of the Old Testament's Israelites. These associations form an important element in Henry's image of native pagans and apostates, who are particularly often compared to the Philistines, a Canaanite tribe whom the Deuteronomic tradition depicted as the most powerful enemy of the Israelites.[57] The first and pivotal Christian emotion that Henry represented the pagans to experience is no less filled with biblical connotations, as this is the fear of god (*timor Dei*). This idea features frequently in the Old Testament descriptions of the wars between the Israelites and their foes. In Henry's text, the most iconic example of this occurred in connection to the biblical play in Riga discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Even though the way Livs were frightened of the staged fighting underlines their ignorance, it seems plausible to suggest that their fear was not simply depicted as naïve. What they saw being re-enacted there was the same biblical past that, according to Henry, was re-enacted during the Livonian crusades.[58] In this sacred history, it was fear that helped the Israelites to

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[53] Thus Henry explains the failure of the Meinhard's mission by saying that the 'had observed the stubbornness of the Livonians and had, accordingly, seen his labours falling to the ground' (HCL I.11, p. 5; Brundage, p. 28: 'visa autem Lyvonum pertinacia et labore cassato').

[54] Thus, for example, the chronicler lets the Lithuanians to say that 'the Estonians still held up their heads [cf. Job 15: 26] and would obey neither the Germans nor the other nations' (HCL XVI.8, p. 112; Brundage, p. 132: 'Estones adhuc collo incedere erecto et nec Theuthonicis nec aliis gentibus obedire').

[55] Tamm, 'How to justify'.

[56] Arbusow, 'Das entlehnte', *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung*. For a recent re-interpretation of Henry's uses of citation and typology as a kind of 'metaphysical machinery', see Undusk, 'Sacred history', here p. 47. A catalogue of the biblical and liturgical citations in Henry's chronicle is provided by Bilkins, *Die Spuren von Vulgata*.

[57] Kaljundi, 'Waiting for the barbarians'. For Henry's uses of the analogy with the Old Testament wars, see Undusk, 'Sacred history'.

[58] A typological analysis of Henry's account of the biblical performance is given in Undusk, 'Sacred history', pp. 64-65.

subdue Philistines. In the same way, according to Henry, the fear of god also aided the crusaders subjugate the native pagans of Livonia.

In Henry's chronicle, the fear of god also is the first sign of a major emotional change the hearts and minds of the pagans, which led them into confusion and made them to surrender. Concerning the following integration of the native neophytes into the Christian community, Henry gives preference to another Christian emotion – grief. Differently from fear, which is publicly manifested only in connection to the above-discussed play in Riga, grieving was closely connected to emotional display. In the missionary context, the high value our chronicler credited to grief was no doubt related to the conversion of the neophytes and the multiple positive meanings of grief in the Christian tradition.[59]

At the same time, an equally important reason for highlighting grief seems to relate to the legitimisation of the crusades. Tellingly the Livish and Lettgallian neophytes gained the ability to grieve in the wake of the crusades to Estonia in 1208, where they joined the troops of the German crusaders. Thus we hear about the mourning neophytes for the first time by the occasion of the Livs and Lettgallians expressing their grief over their kinsmen who had been killed by the Estonians. After an Estonian raid (1208), the Lettgallians of Beverin were 'sad because of the deaths of their men, whom the Esthonians had slaughtered and cremated'.[60] The sentence immediately continues with a call for vengeance, as the Lettgallians 'sent word to all the Letts round about to be ready to march [cf. 1 Maccabees 3, 28:44], in order that, when God gave the opportunity, they might take vengeance on their enemies'.[61] From here onwards, the suffering of the neophytes from the hands of the pagans developed into one of the key elements in Henry's justification of the crusades against the Estonians.[62]

Since the First Crusade, the idea of vengeance upon nations – featuring in the citation above – had been a prominent element of crusade discourse, being widely rooted in crusade calls, sermons, liturgies, and chronicles.[63] In the crusade context, the injuries of Christian lands and

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[59] See Nagy, *Le don des larmes*.

[60] HCL XII.6, p. 64; Brundage, p. 86: 'tristes de morte suorum, quos Estones trucidaverant et igne cremaverant'.

[61] HCL XII.6, p. 64; Brundage, p. 86: 'miserunt ad omnes Leththos in circuitu, ut essent ad iter parati, ut si quando donante Deo se de suis possent vindicare inimicis'.

[62] The argument opened up fruitful avenues for legitimating the campaigns, as Henry also refers to the misfortunes that the Livs and Lettgallians had suffered from the Estonians in the past. Before launching the very first crusade campaign to Estonia (1208), the Lettgallians and the Sword Brethren sent messengers to Estonia 'to demand satisfaction for all the injuries which they had suffered from them' (HCL XII.6, p. 61; Brundage, p. 83: 'requirere que iusta sund de omnibus iniuriis sibi illatis ab eis'). The idea of avenging the injuries dominates the representation of the following campaigns to the Estonian territories of Ugaunia (HCL XII.6, pp. 62-63) and Saccala (HCL XII.6, pp. 64-65).

[63] Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance*; cf. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 14-16. In connection to the crusades, Throop ('Zeal, Anger and Vengeance') has also highlighted the emotional potential of the calls for vengeance. At the same time, she warns against the traditional view according to which the idea of crusade as vengeance springs from an overemotional reaction and irrational passions, claiming that this interpretation relies not on the medieval but modern concept of vengeance. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.

peoples often served as a cause for the campaigns against the infidels.[64] Nevertheless, there are two features that make Henry's legitimisation of the crusades noteworthy. Instead of emphasising the misfortunes of the German settler Christians, his argumentation was very strongly orientated towards the sufferings of the neophytes.[65] Albeit sounding appealing, such claims were by no means widespread. Secondly, next to the physical suffering, or death of the neophytes[66], Henry highlighted just as strongly their emotional response to the injuries.

In the chronicle, this emotional reaction was always mentioned in connection to public manifestations. During an Estonian campaign to Toreida (1211), the Livish messengers who sought help from Riga 'tearfully made known all the misfortunes which the Livonians and Letts had suffered from the pagans. They begged the bishops to send their men and liberate their church'.[67] Referring to a public display, the whole representation did not only suggest the importance of staging emotions, but also abounded with crusade vocabulary: the neophytes called for the liberation of the church and thereafter the bishops spoke about the remission of sins and revenge.[68] On the same occasion, the bishops also named the Livs 'the brethren' of the settler Christians. Ideas about fraternal love and the defence of ones brethren were of just as great importance in crusade legitimisation and propaganda, where they were mostly developed either in connection to the Byzantine Christians, or the fellow crusaders.[69] Yet, in Henry's chronicle, these ideas were, again, closely connected to conversion and the inclusion of the neophytes into the brotherhood of the Christians.[70]

Such use of family vocabulary, and ideas of horizontal comradeship raise questions about the inclusion of the neophytes into the new, broader Christian community. Even though lamenting over the fallen neophytes played a prominent role in justifying the crusade campaigns, as

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[64] Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*, pp. 22-24. Recently, Menache ('Love of God or Hatred') has pointed to the perspectives of studying such descriptions for analysing the catalyzing role of emotions in crusade propaganda.

[65] Indeed, Henry also points to the requests of the settler Christians who ask a reward for the injuries and the innumerable goods the Estonians had unjustly taken from them (HCL XII.6, p. 62). Yet, the suffering of the neophytes is much more pronounced in the chronicle as a whole.

[66] From the very beginning of its narrative, Henry pays attention to the killed neophytes, sometimes also calling them martyrs. See Tamm, 'Martyrs and Miracles', pp. 140, 149-154. Paul Johansen ('Die Chronik') also links it to the chronicler's role as the cleric of the Lettgallian neophytes. This is another typical feature of the crusade discourse that in Henry's chronicle is connected to the neophytes, while in the mainstream of the crusade writings the physical injuries of the Christians and crusaders are connected to the Latin, or also Byzantine Christians.

[67] HCL XV.3, p. 90; Brundage, pp. 110-111: 'omnes miserias, quas a paganis passi sunt Lyvones et Letti, lacrimabiliter insinuant, episcopis supplicant, ut missis viris suis ecclesiam suam liberent'.

[68] 'The bishops immediately called on their knights and commanded the pilgrims and all the people, for the remission of their sins, to relieve their Livonian brethren (*fratribus suis Lyvonibus*) and to take revenge, if God gave it, upon the Esthonian tribes [cf. Psalms 149:7].' HCL XV.3, p. 90; Brundage, p. 111: 'Confestim episcopi milites suos hortantes peregrinis et omni populo in remissionem peccatorum iniungunt, ut fratribus suis Lyvonibus subveniant et vindictam faciant Deo donante in Estonum nationibus'.

[69] Riley-Smith, 'Crusading'.

[70] While it is not possible to analyse Henry's use of family metaphors here in detail, one should mention the existence of the both hierarchical (paternal and maternal), as well as horizontal metaphors (brotherhood), all of which are linked to the expansion of Christendom, often conceptualised with the help of bodily or family vocabulary. Cf. Kaljundi, 'Young church'.

shown above, Henry represents such demonstrations of grief to have also functioned as manifestations of new social bonds. This reflects the sociable and outreaching character of grieving, yet also shows that namely crusading provided various ritual occasions for the public staging the unification of the new Christian community. The best examples of the ritual manifestations of new social bonds related to the public commemorations of the deceased. Concerning the potential of mourning to unite all Christians of Livonia, the chronicler especially highlighted the importance of the mutual mourning of the dead, in which the neophytes mourned for the settler Christians and vice versa.

It has been often remarked in connection to the centrality of the remembrance of the dead in medieval society that group ties mostly implied the duty of *memoria*.[71] Concerning Henry's vision of the Livonian neophytes, it appears that he treated commemoration of the Christians not only as an obligation of the neophytes, but also as manifestation of the neophytes' loyalty to the settler Christians. In Livonia of the time, loyalty must have been of paramount importance, as succeeding in making reliable alliances must have been a crucial issue especially during the early phase of conquest and conversion.

Whereas Henry's chronicle valued neophytes' grief as a sign of alliance, this text it also revealed anxieties and doubts related to the sincerity of the natives' grief and, consequently, to their loyalty. This becomes especially evident when one looks at first occurrences where Henry mentions the grief of the natives. For the first time, we meet the neophytes grieving over the misfortunes and death of the settler Christians in the first chapters about the early mission in the 1180s-1190s, which were to demonstrate the perfidy of the baptised Livs and justify the following crusades. While capitalizing on their treachery, Henry also argues the Livs' grief over their Christian brethren to have been not true, but false. Moreover, the insincerity of the first emotional displays of the neophytes becomes one of the key elements in Henry's construction of the Livish perfidy. A good example of such duplicity occurred in the dialogue between the Livs and the missionary bishop Meinhard who decided to leave Livonia due to their perfidy and apostasy (~1195-1196):

> The tricky Livs thus feared and suspected that a Christian army would come upon them. They therefore sought deceitfully with guile and tears and in many other ways to call back the bishop. They said to him as was formerly said to St. Martin, although the intention was not the same: 'Why do you desert us, father? And to whom are you leaving us desolate creatures? Does a shepherd by going away dangerously expose his sheep to the jaws of wolves?'[72] And these very Livonians again promised that they would fully receive the faith. The innocent bishop believed every word [cf. Proverbs 14:15], and upon the advice of the merchants and upon the promise of an army, went back with the Livonians.[73]

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[71] E.g. Althoff, *Friends and Followers*, p. 20. The social relevance of *memoria* in the Middle Ages has been thoroughly analysed in many studies by Otto Gerhard Oexle, e.g. his 'Memoria in der Gesellschaft'.

[72] According to Leonid Arbusow, the sentences in direct speech are a possible citation from the Office of St. Martin (11 November) in the Roman Breviary. See HCL, p. 6, footnote 1.

[73] HCL I.11, pp. 5-6; Brundage, pp. 28-29: 'Unde Lyvonum astucia christianorum timet et suspicatur super se venturum exercitum, unde dolis et lacrimis et aliis multis modis prefatum ficte revocare student episcopum, dicentees, ut illi quondam beato Martino, licet intentione non simili: 'Cur nos, pater, deseris aut cui nos desolatos relinquis? Nam recedendo pastor oves suas periculose faucibus luporum exponit'. Et ipsi Lyvones plene se fidem

At first glance, the passage well exemplifies Henry's predilection for typological framing. The reference to St Martin (~316-397), a legendary fighter against paganism and heresy not only fitted well in the Livonian context but also provided Henry's words with authority.[74] Leaving aside the obvious fact that the Livs hardly used a citation from St. Martin's office, it seems noteworthy that the meaning of the original story was disturbingly inverted. The performance of the Livs was false – they have only faked to identify themselves with the good disciples of this sacred story. Immediately after the 'innocent' Meinhard decided to stay, the Livs revealed their treachery, as they 'greeted the bishop on his return like Judas, and said '*Ave Rabbi*!'[75] The mentioning of Judas, the archetypical example of all perfidy in the Christian tradition also recalled the religious condemnation of such insincerity.[76]

Such representations of public faking and treachery seemed also to have been important for legitimising the crusades, as the story given above served as an introduction for the first crusade call to Livonia in 1198.[77] Next to this, however, the representation of the Livs' displays of false emotions also seemed to reveal a certain, if not significant anxiety. Tellingly, Henry's narrative about Meinhard ended with a scene in which the Livs, once again, wailed false tears. We learn, namely, that after Meinhard's death (~1196-1197) the Livs buried their shepherd with 'the false wailing [cf. Genesis 50:1] and tears'.[78] In contrast to these stories, throughout the chronicle the ability to grieve for the fallen settler Christians or share their grief remained one of the most significant ways in which the good neophytes could demonstrate their loyalty to the new faith and rule. Henry provides a good *exemplum* in connection to a miracle story concerning the burial of a certain monk in 1203. We learn that 'a crowd of weeping converts bore and followed his little body to the church, as is customary among the faithful'.[79] The following story about the miraculous lengthening of a plank for a coffin that the Livs had made for the monk further verified the authenticity of their grief and their identity as good neophytes.[80]

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suscepturos repromittunt. Credit innocens omni verbo et mercatorum consilio simulque futuri exercitus fiducia accepta cum Lyvonibus revertitur.'

[74] References to St Martin were widespread in the crusade discourse, as they had been in the literature covering the conversion of the Nordic lands. Tveito, Ad fines orbis, p. 296.

[75] Cf. Mt 26:49. HCL I.11, p. 6; Brundage, p. 29: 'redeuntem episcopum Holmenses salutatione et animo Iude salutant, dicentes: 'Ave rabbi'.

[76] The example of Judas is recalled also later when Henry represents the Estonians to have hailed a Rigan priest coming to Fellin (Est. Viljandi) in 1212 'with greetings from the mouth and not from the heart, as Judas hailed the Lord [cf. Mt 26:49, Acts 13:26]' (HCL XV.9, p. 99; Brundage, p. 119: 'salutatusque est salutatione oris et non cordis, qualiter Iudas Dominum salutavit'). Also in this case the natives have promised to accept baptism, but relapse and eventually kill the priest. See HCL XV.9, p. 99.

[77] HCL I.12, pp. 6-7.

[78] HCL II.1, p. 8; Brundage, p. 31: 'qualicunque Lyvonum planctu et lacrimis sepulto'. For Meinhard's death, see HCL 1.14, p. 7.

[79] HCL VII.6, p. 23; Brundage, p. 44: 'Cuius corpusculum more fidelium ad ecclesiam deferens cum lacrimis neophitorum turba prosequitur.' This particular monk, Siegfried, had resided in Holme where the story also takes place.

[80] In this story, Henry has also used the paternal and family metaphors, comparing the Livs to good sons: 'As sons for a beloved father, they made a coffin for him' (HCL VII.6, p. 23; Brundage, p. 44: 'Cui tamquam filii

Nevertheless, concerning a fuller inclusion of the neophytes among the Christians and the building up of a new, enlarged Christian community in Livonia, the chronicle highlighted not only the importance of mutual grief and mourning. In Henry's scheme of things, it was the settler Christians' reaction, which ultimately demarcated the inclusion of the neophytes. Thereby the chronicle also reminded its readers of the hierarchies inherent in this new community, where the settlers became to hold a dominant and privileged position.

For the first time the reader meets the settlers' sorrow over the neophytes after the first major defeat of the joint army of the crusaders, Livs, and Lettgallians at the Ymera battle, which they lost to the Estonians in 1210.[81] Initially and quite typically to his way of connecting the key elements of crusade legitimisation to the neophytes, Henry gave a detailed description of the torturing and martyrdom of the newly converted warriors.[82] Then, the focus moved from the physical injuries to the manifestation of emotions, particularly those of the settler Christians: 'Caupo [a Livish chieftain], the Livonians, and the Letts returned from the fight, bewailed their dead, and were joined by the whole church in grieving over the newly baptized who had been butchered by the pagans.'[83] It was the reaction of the 'whole church', manifesting the inclusion of the neophytes, that was significant here.

While the representation of the battle concerned two groups being more or less joined into one, Henry's text also suggests the role of the elite in the work of mourning as a way of creating social bonds between the natives and the settler Christians. The best example of this concerns the death of the aforementioned Caupo in an otherwise victorious battle against the Estonians in 1217.[84] Even though Henry does not call Caupo a martyr, the description of his death is very detailed, containing a number of possible liturgical citations as well as a number of explicit comparisons to the crucifixion.[85] Caupo was a key ally of the Church of Riga and hence the chronicle not only represented the mourning of the Christians over his death but

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dilecto patri sarcofagum … facientes'). Not insignificantly, the ending of the story stresses for the second time that the Livs 'buried their shepherd according to the custom of the faithful' (HCL VII.6, p. 23; Brundage, p. 44: 'pastore suo fidelium more sepulto'). The miracle story, including the widely spread motif of miraculously lengthened plank are analysed in Tamm, 'Martyrs and Miracles', pp. 145-146.

[81] HCL XIV.8, pp. 79-80.

[82] Saying that the Estonians 'tortured them in a cruel martyrdom … they roasted some alive, and, after stripping the others of their clothes and making crosses on their backs with their swords, they cut their throats, and thus, we hope, sent them into the heavenly company of the martyrs.' (HCL XIV.8, p. 80; Brundage, p. 102: 'crudeli martirio cruciaverunt … quorum alios vivos assaverunt, alios nudantes vestimentis suis et gladiis suis in dorsis eorum crucibus factis iugulaverunt et in martyrum consorcium ut speramus in celum transmiserunt.') For the possible and numerous liturgical references of this representation of martyrdom, see HCL, p. 80, footnotes 3-4; cf. Arbusow, *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 71.

[83] HCL XIV.8, p. 80; Brundage p. 102: 'Caupo itaque et Lyvones et Letti reversi de prelio plaxerunt interfectis suos, tristes eo quod nuper baptizati a paganis sint trucidati'.

[84] The battle of St. Matthew's Day on 21 September 1217.

[85] Arbusow, *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 56-57; Tamm, 'Martyrs and miracles', pp. 137-138, 142.

also named several authority figures acting likewise: 'Count Albert, the abbot, and all who were with them, mourned over him.'[86]

As the joint crusade campaigns of the settler Christians and neophytes against the Estonians become a regular phenomenon, the representations of shared grief and mourning start to feature regularly in Henry's chronicle too. A fine example that they did not lose their significance is Henry's description of the reactions to the losses caused by the Estonian assaults in 1223.[87] Henry argues: 'In Riga the word became known about all the evils [cf. 1 Macc. 7:30] which had been brought upon the Livonians and Letts and everyone wept and mourned over their colleagues who had been killed.'[88] On this occasion, too, the manifestation of tears and mourning appeared significant for the legitimisation of the following campaigns.[89] In addition, its representation refers to the strengthening of the social bonds, as well as highlights the unity of the Christian *communitas*. By this time, stressing the unanimity of the new community under the leadership of the Church of Riga had also developed into a useful argument in conflicts over hegemony. The rivalry had become especially pronounced in the 1220s, due to the collision of the Rigan-German and Danish interests in the Northern Estonian territories.

The joy that binds us – public rejoicing and rituals of unification

Despite the significance Henry gives to grieving, in his vision of the Livonian crusades and the new coming community, the neophytes were also join the settler Christians in rejoicing. Similarly to grief, joy was one of the fundamental Christian emotions. As all major Christian emotions, joy and rejoicing had multiple meanings. In Henry's chronicle, they also have variable connotations. Being one of the key elements of public communication, rejoicing has been often studied in connection to the rituals of coronation and *adventus*.[90] In a missionary context, it should first and foremost be linked to the joy over the salvation. Also in Henry's chronicle, rejoicing is one of the key elements demarcating the transformation of the native peoples from pagans into Christians, as the notion of joy is mentioned in most representations of baptism. While in connection to baptism and submission Henry does not describe any significant public displays of emotions, the chronicle does not lack representations of the public rejoicing of the neophytes, however. Similarly to their grieving, the neophytes' manifestations of joy have been most strongly connected to crusading: as the newly converted peoples joined the crusade campaigns, Henry has also been highlighting their participation in public thanksgiving and rejoicing over divine favour and help in war.

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[86] HCL XXI.4, p. 144; Brundage, p. 163: 'luctum habuerunt super eum tam comes Albertus quam abbas et omnes, qui errant cum eis'.
[87] See HCL XXVII.1, p. 193.
[88] HCL XXVII.1, p. 193; Brundage p. 213: 'Et innotuit sermo in Riga de omnibus malis, Lyvonibus et Lettis illatis, et fleverunt et doluerunt omnes de confratirbus suis occisis.'
[89] First, for taking revenge on retreating Estonians (HCL XXVII.1, pp. 193-195), and thereafter for organizing a campaign to Saccala (HCL XXVII.2, pp. 195-196).
[90] For example, Warner, 'Ritual and memory'; cf. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik*, pp. 276-277.

For the first time, such representation occurs again in connection to the first joint and victorious crusade campaign of the crusaders and neophytes against the Estonians (1208), already mentioned above. We learn that 'the Letts … returned to Beverin rejoicing'.[91] In immediate connection to this, Henry refers to a liturgical ritual of thanksgiving that involved both the settler Christians as well as the Lettgallian neophytes. 'Since it was Gaudete Sunday [14 December], all, without exception[92], joyfully (*cum gaudio*) blessed God, because, through new converts, the Lord had taken such vengeance, even on other nations [cf. Psalms 149: 7].'[93] Typically to Henry's thinking of the crusades, this sentence both includes a traditional element (vengeance upon nations), as well as points to the special contribution of the neophytes. The feast itself was most suitable for celebrations of joy, as the Gaudete Sunday is the third Sunday of advent, an occasion on which the lines *Gaudete domino semper* were read from the Bible. This passage pointed well to the instructive role of liturgy for manifesting emotions, as well as exemplified well how crusade rituals benefitted from the existing religious calendar and liturgies.

Similarly to Henry's representations of grieving, this passage brought together key ideas characteristic to his crusade ideology, as well as revealed his belief in the importance of the public, ritual, and liturgical manifestation of those ideas. At the same time, the chronicle represented such emotional displays as a way of achieving unanimity within this new, larger crusade army. A fine example of this occurred in connection to a return from a campaign to Western Estonia (1218), where the Rigan army had fought both the Estonians and the Russians. The expedition took place during Lent[94], which must have amplified the religious connotation of rejoicing:

> The Germans returned singing on the road, all safe and unharmed[95], save for one of Henry Borewin's knights, who fell, wounded by an arrow [cf. I Maccabees 1:19], and another, a Lett, a certain Veko, who fought alone with nine Russians for a long time with his back to a tree. He was finally wounded from behind, fell, and died [cf. I Maccabees 1:19]. All the other Livonians [Livs] and Letts returned without any wound. Many of them came again to the Germans, from the forests to which they had fled, as the Germans returned by the road. They rejoiced with them (*congaudantes*) that so few out of such a multitude of Russians had escaped. They all praised the clemency of the Saviour, Who brought them back and freed them from the hands of the enemy [cf. I Ezra 8:31], or rather, Who had allowed so few of them to kill about fifty Russians and carry off their weapons and loot [cf. 2 Chronicles 14:13].[96]

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[91] HCL XII.6, p. 65; Brundage, p. 87: 'Lethi … leti in Beverin redierunt'. In Latin original the chronicler has thus played with the alliteration *Lethi* and *leti*. Next to victory, this joy also relates to the division of spoils among the Lettgallians, the crusaders and the Sword Brethern. *Ibid.*

[92] In Latin: 'all unanimously' (*omnes unanimiter*).

[93] HCL XII.6, p. 65; Brundage, p. 87: 'Et cum esset in dominica Gaudete, omnes unanimiter cum gaudio Deum benedicebant, eo quod [per] noviter conversos Dominus tantam fecerit vindictam eciam ceteris in nationibus'.

[94] 28 February till 14 April 1218.

[95] In Latin: *omnes sani et incolumes.* The phrase is a possible liturgical citation from the oration *Itinerarium Clericorum*. See Brundage, p. 169.

[96] HCL XXII.3, p. 150; Brundage, p. 169: 'Theuthonici vero omnes sani et incolumes per viam cantantes redierunt, preter unum militem Heinrici Borewin, qui sagitta vulneratus cecidit; et alter Lettus quidam Veko, qui cum novem Ruthenis solus, ad arborem versus, diutissime pugnavit et tandem post tergum vulneratus cecidit ipse et mortuus est. Alii vero omnes, Lyvones et Letti, sine lesione aliqua redierunt, quorum multi de silvis, ad quas

This account unmistakably illuminates the chronicler's belief in the potential of ritual thanksgiving to bind different groups. It also shows the power of ritual to vocalise the core ideologies of crusading, such as the divine intervention and the idea of God working through the hand of few. At the same time, the passage reveals how the textual representation of such ritual occasions offered good opportunities for stressing aspects that were of great rhetorical value for the justification of the crusades and colonisation, including the unanimity of the Christian community in Livonia or the rightfulness of their cause. The representation of the scene is structured cumulatively: it starts off by describing the Germans singing together, then adds that their Livish and Lettgallian allies joined the rejoicing, and finally states that 'they all' praised the Saviour. The scene did highlight the inclusion of all different groups into ritual thanksgiving but it nonetheless differentiated the German crusaders from the neophytes who arguably fled to the forests. In general, in a military context Henry tended to assess the military input of the natives as lower than this of the European crusaders. Despite the emphasis on the unanimity of the crusade army, until the end of his chronicle, he also listed different groups of the army separately. This illustrates well the fact that integration of the neophytes among the crusaders was complicated and that there were different considerations behind judging their input.

That the tendency to esteem the neophyte's contribution to the crusading cause was nonetheless strong around that time is exemplified well by the ending of the chronicle. In connection to the visit of the papal legate, William of Modena to Livonia in 1225-1226 the chronicler has put a strong emphasis on the praise of the neophytes. Henry likely operated as a translator for the legate, whom many scholars suggest to have been the main addressee of his chronicle.[97] Henry's representation of the whole visit stands out in the chronicle as a kind of a tribute to Christian joy. First and foremost, the legate rejoices over and with the neophytes, not the crusaders and settler Christians. Henry depicts the newly converted peoples as the main object of legate's interest, praise and preaching – they stand in the centre of the representation of the whole visit. During his stay in Livonia William travelled quite extensively. According to Henry, the reason for this was the legate's desire to meet the newly converted.[98] In fact, Wil-

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fugerant, iterum ad Theuthonicos per viam redeuntes venerunt, congaudaentes eis, eo quod tam pauci de tanta multitudine Ruthenorum evaserunt. Et laudaverunt omnes Salvatoris clemenciam, qui reduxit eos et liberativt de minibus inimicorum, immo qui in tanta paucitate suorum fere quinquaginta de Ruthenis interfecerunt et arma et spolia et equos eorum tulerunt.'

[97] For Henry's account of William's visit see HCL XXIX.2-8, pp. 208-214; XXX.1, pp. 215-216. See also Brundage, 'The thirteenth-century'. In 1224, William had been appointed by pope Honorius III as a legate to the Baltic region (including also Prussia and Holstein) upon the request of Albert, bishop of Riga. For the documentation concerning William and his views on the mission among the pagans, see Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes*, pp. 170-176.

[98] Henry claims that 'The legate being anxious about the new converts, frequently called together the Livonians and others who were in the city [Riga], both men and women. He diligently ministered the Word of God [cf. 2 Kings 4: 13] and joyfully gave many indulgences. After this, desiring to see the Livonians [Livs] and the others, the Lithuanians [in the original: 'Latvians'] and Esthonians, he journeyed […]'(HCL XXIX.3, p. 209; Brundage, p. 230: 'Ipse vero circa noviter conversos sollicitus Lyvones et alios, qui errant in civitate, viros et mulieres sepe convocando verbum Dei sedulo ministravit et indulgentias multas cum gaudio donavit. Post hoc Lyvones et alios

liam was sent to Livonia to settle the quarrels between the Danish king and the Church of Riga.[99] However, the emphasis on the pastoral care can be traced back both to the broader papal policies during the reign of Honorius III (r. 1216-1227) and to William's own interest towards mission alike.[100] In addition, Henry's emphasis on the joyful neophytes finely contributed to the promotion of the interests of the Church of Riga.

Henry's representation of William's travels in Livonia provides good exemplifications of the multiple meanings of rejoicing on a missionary frontier. This is best illustrated in connection to a sermon William gave to the Lettgallians.

> The legate joyfully preached the Word of God to them [the Lettgallians from Tolowa (Latv. Tālava)] and explained all the sacraments of the faith. He went from there to Wenden [Latv. Cēsis], where he was received with the greatest devotion by the Brothers of the Militia and the other Germans who lived there. He found there a very great multitude of Wends and Letts. In the morning, when all the Letts had joyfully (*cum leticia*) gathered, he preached to them the joyous (*letam*) doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ. Frequently he made mention of the passion of that same Lord Jesus and, happy (*letos*) as they were, gladdened them greatly (*plurimum letificavit*). He commanded their faith and constancy because they had first received the Christian faith voluntarily and without being disturbed by any wars, and later had never violated the oaths of baptism, in the manner of the Livonians and Letts. He praised highly their humility and patience [cf. Acts 9:15], for they had gladly (*lete*) borne the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to the Esthonians and other peoples, and had sent many of their people, slain for the Christian faith, into the company of the martyrs as we believe. He did not deny the Wends the faithful admonition of his teaching, nor did he fail to bid their lords, the Brothers of the Militia, to live faithfully with their subjects and always to impose upon them a light yoke [cf. Matthew 11:30].[101]

This passage brings together many key elements of Henry's imagining of the good neophytes. It also stresses the feature especially characteristic to his chronicle, which is the neophyte contribution to the crusades. Finally, it elevates the deceased neophytes to the status of martyrs, as well as directly refers to the Christo-mimetic nature of such martyrdom. Still, the passage reminds of the pragmatic and partisan considerations that often loom behind an emphasis on unanimity. Bear in mind that the passage appears in connection to the rivalries between the

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et Estones videre desiderans abiit […]'). Thus also here the neophyte groups are differentiated, as the legate desires to see the Lettgallians, Wends and Livs – and not so much the Estonians who were subjugated later.

[99] The legate's activities as a mediator of this conflict, as well as Henry's representation of William's role are discussed in Mäesalu, 'Päpstliche Gewalt im Kreuzzugsgebiet' and his 'A crusader conflict'.

[100] For the legate's interest in the mission amongst the pagans and the Dominican influences on that, see Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes*, pp. 172-176; for the impact of the papal curia's growing emphasis on the care of the neophytes, see *Ibid*., pp. 177-179.

[101] HCL XXIX.3, p. 210; Brundage, pp. 231-232: 'ad eum, quibus ipse verbum Dei predixit cum leitcia et omnia fidei sacramenta diligenter exposuit. Et inde procedens in Wenden a fratribus militicie et ab aliis Theuthonicis ibidem habitantibus devotissime receptus est, et invenit ibi Wendorum et Lettorum mazimam multitudinem. Unde mano facto, congregatis Lettis universis, cum letitia letam eis domini Ieusu Christi doctrinam predicavit et, sepius passionem eiusdem domini Iesu commemorans, letos eosdem quam plurimum letificavit fidemque eorum et constantiam commendans, eo quod sponte et absque ulla bellorum perturbatione fidem christianam primo susceperunt et postmodum nunquam more Lyvonum et Estonum baptismi sacramenta violaverunt, humilitatem et patientiam eorum collaudavit, qui nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi ad EStones et ad alias gentes lete portantes, multos de gente sua propter eandem fidem christianam occisos in martyrum, ut credimus, consorcium transmiserant. Wendis eciam doctrine sue fidelia monita non subraxit nec non et dominis ipsorum, fratribus milicie, quatinus subditis suis leve sepmer iugum imponentes fideliter cohabitarent, attentius iniunxit.'

Church of Riga and the Sword Brethren, where the complaints for the order's poor care for the neophytes served as a suitable argument for the chronicler. The scene contrasts the harmony between the legate, the church, and the neophytes with the troublesome relations between the Sword Brethren's and the newly converted peoples. At the broader background, the Church of Riga also needed to support his privileges against the Danish king. It thus points to the next phase in the making of the Livonian colony. Here, the public display of emotions was not used to stress the unity of the Christian community as a whole but to establishing fractions inside that larger community.

Conclusions

In its entirety Henry's chronicle shows considerable interest and concern towards the making of a new Christian community in Livonia. His representations of that process stress the importance of rituals and public manifestation of emotions in the making of a new, broader Christian community on the frontier that would include both the settler Christians and the neophytes. The chronicle also points to the close and mutual relations between community and crusading, the crusade rituals being often also used for binding the community together. At the same time, these public displays of emotions figured prominently in the justification of the crusade campaigns. In addition, the contemporary concern for the spiritual contribution of the whole community to crusading must have added further topicality to these issues, especially considering the overall small number of Christians.

In connection to the neophyte involvement in the public performance of emotions, however, one should also point towards a certain anxiety. The establishing of effective social bonds must have been a crucial issue on a crusading frontier like Livonia, where building up a loyal community was of crucial spiritual as well as political importance. On the one hand, the success of crusading depended on whether all the Christians, both settlers and neophytes were involved both spiritually and militarily. On the other hand, the inclusion of the newly converted natives raised the question of fidelity, reflected in the chronicler's stories of the neophytes displaying false emotions. The need to recurrently reproduce confirmations of the neophytes' loyalty to the new community might also explain the chronicler's keen interest towards depicting the various performances where the neophytes manifest their belonging among the Christians.

Even if there is no way of knowing whether the rituals described in Henry's chronicle actually took place – ultimately, we can only study their textual mediations – they still finely represent the chronicler's conviction of the significance of rituals in the process of conquest and conversion and in the making of a new community on the Livonian frontier. Irrespectively of the historical actuality of these rituals, Henry's understanding of the social and spiritual importance of such performances is still illuminating. It reflects the belief in the power of rituals in conveying messages about social belonging, power, and authority – and about the imagining of a community. His chronicle also shows that medieval rituals and writing necessarily did not contest, but could also complement each other. In Henry's representation, the core elements

of the crusade ideology and the Christian community are repeated in different media, including various public performances as well as history writing. The iteration of these ideas in various media gains further coherence from being typologically connected to the same sacred past. Henry bases the authority of his history writing on biblical analogies and citations. The public performances represented in his chronicle – including the displays of various emotions – most often rely on the same liturgical and biblical vocabulary.

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ARTICLE FIVE

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CHAPTER 11

Pagans into peasants: ethnic and social boundaries in early modern Livonia

Linda Kaljundi

In 1943, an exhibition opened in Moscow dedicated to the St. George's Night Uprising, which had taken place in the Estonian duchy of the Danish kingdom in 1343–5. Throughout the Second World War, the uprising remained a central element in the propaganda directed at the Estonians fighting in the Red Army, as its remembrance was recalled in various media from leaflets and visual images to fiction and popular history writing.

The sources covering the uprising itself are no less problematic, affording only a very general insight into the course of events that took place in present-day northern Estonia and Saaremaa (Ger. Ösel), while leaving the socio-political background and reasons behind the rebellion largely unexplained. The uprising started on the night of 23 April 1343 in Harjumaa (Ger. Harrien), where the rebels burned down the estates of the nobility, as well as churches and the Padise (Ger. Padis) convent. Thereafter their army gathered near Tallinn (Ger. Reval). The unrest also spread into Läänemaa (Ger. Wiek), where the rebels attacked the nobility and then gathered to besiege Haapsalu (Ger. Hapsal). However, it was not the Danish authorities, but the neighbouring Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, led by its master, Burchard von Dreileben (r. 1340–5), that reacted quickly to the revolt. The Order moved its army northwards and organized negotiations between the leading figures of the uprising and the Order on 4 May in the castle of Paide (Ger. Weissenstein). The peace talks failed and the envoys of the rebels were killed, although this escalation of violence does not lend itself to easy explanation. Military encounters between the rebels and the Order followed shortly after, leading to the defeat of the rebels on 14 May near Tallinn. Thereafter the Order also suppressed the revolt in Läänemaa. Thereby the uprising was put to an end before the arrival of the Swedish and the Russian forces, with whom the rebels had sought allegiance, although the details of these alliances are not known. The Swedish troops, led by the bailiffs of Turku (Swe. Åbo) and Vyborg arrived in Tallinn on 18–19 May, just a few days after the defeat of the rebels. In late May too the Russian troops from Pskov attacked southern Estonia, but did not achieve any definitive success and turned back in early June. Yet on 24 July an uprising started on Saaremaa (Ger. Ösel) as well, quickly leading to the surrender of the Order's main stronghold on the island, the Pöide (Ger. Peude) castle. As the Livonian master, however, gained support from the Teutonic Order, the knights managed to annihilate the remains of the uprising in Harjumaa and thereafter to put an end to the revolt on Saaremaa as a result of two winter campaigns in 1344 and 1345.

The uprising led to a major restructuring of power in medieval Livonia, as the Danish king thereafter sold its territories to the Teutonic Order. Yet the selling of

Estonia had been topical since the 1320s, when the Danish monarchy was driven into serious political and financial problems.[1] By the late 1330s Estonia had a number of contenders, the most significant of whom was Magnus Eriksson, the king of Sweden (r. 1319–64). As this would have resulted in the Swedish domination on the Baltic Sea, it was not in the interests of other neighbouring powers, including the German emperor, who appears to have supported the Teutonic Order.[2] In 1341, the Danish king indeed drafted a contract for selling Estonia to the Order, but the deal was not reached, even though the same year the king indeed sold Skåne to Sweden. Eventually, Estonia was sold to the Order in 1346, after the Order had suppressed the uprising and already gained *de facto* dominance in Estonia.

While many details about the uprising remain debatable, the lack of sources has facilitated more flexible mythmaking. Recently, the making of the uprising into a national realm of memory has been examined in some detail.[3] Since the nineteenth century, the Estonian interpretation of the uprising has treated the revolt as a continuation of the national fight for freedom against the German colonizers, which had started with the crusades in the early decades of the thirteenth century.[4] At the same time, the interpretation of the upheaval as a peasant revolt – which stems from the earlier, Baltic German historiography[5] – also facilitated the creation of a feeling of continuity between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, as the key supporters of the Estonian national activists were the socially upwardly mobile peasants.[6] The strongly anti-German and militant ethos also made the remembrance of the St. George's Night Uprising suitable for the Soviet war-time propaganda, which expanded upon the imagery of revenge against the German occupiers.[7] For the Soviet schemata, the uprising was appropriate also thanks to its being understood as a peasant revolt, as this resonated well with the Marxist understanding of the centrality of class struggle in history.[8]

While much of the research on the afterlife of the St. George's Night Uprising has thus focused on the construction of historical continuities, the current chapter is interested in the discontinuities that reveal themselves in the historiographical tradition of the uprising. Discussing the accounts of the uprising, which stretch from the medieval to the early modern period, the following analysis points to significant changes in the representation of the rebelling antagonists, who gradually transform from 'pagans' into 'peasants'. Analysing these alternations relates to more general changes in the imagery of peasantry and 'otherness' in the early modern period.[9] At the same time, Livonian materials offer a potentially stimulating viewpoint on these discussions, as social and ethnic stratification started to coincide more and more closely in these territories. Since the thirteenth-century crusades, most of the land and privileges were gradually gathered into the hands of the new elite, the majority of the upper class consisting of settlers from German territories, but also including some Germanicized local families.[10] Yet, unlike in much of the rest of eastern Central Europe, migration of the peasantry from the West never reached Livonia. Thus the agrarian community remained overwhelmingly native, but gradually became separated from the upper classes by ethnicity and language, as did the urban lower classes.

However, to this day scholars appear not have reached an agreement concerning the question of when the linguistic and ethnic segregation started to match the social segregation in Livonia. There is an extensive historiographical tradition on the Livonian uses of the concept of the non-German (*undeutsch*), as well as an ongoing debate on the definitions of this term, including the issue of the extent to which it

should be associated with the peasantry.[11] Also the question of the different connotations of these terms in medieval and early-modern sources, and in the studies of various twentieth-century scholars, has been pointed out. The St. George's Uprising, however, has not been much discussed from these perspectives, even though, in view of the availability of chronologically varied sources, it provides a fine case study for exploring the dynamics of the terms used for designating social groups.

After briefly looking at the making of the Livonian and Estonian 'pagans' in the medieval Christian discourse, the chapter offers the reader close readings of the four accounts of the St. George's Night Uprising, which stretch from the fourteenth century to the early modern period. While examining the transformations of the image of the rebels in these representations case by case, the chapter as a whole finally also seeks to contextualize these changes against the backdrop of the great transformations that the early modern period brought to Livonia.

The formation of Livonian paganism

Livonia, which in medieval terms included the territories of today's Estonia and Latvia, was gradually integrated into the learned Christian discourse as a result of the spread of Christianity into the Nordic and Baltic Sea territories. Particularly during recent years, scholars have emphasized the importance of the textual integration of these territories with the authoritative Christian historical and geographical texts.[12] A number of studies have also addressed the impact of the already existing imagery of paganism and barbarianism on the representations of the eastern Baltic peoples.[13] While the earliest notices about the pagan Baltic tribes date back to the eleventh century, as with many other frontiers of Europe, it was the crusades that ultimately made the question of native paganism topical in Livonia.

In the Estonian territories, the intensive period of crusading lasted from around the 1190s until the late 1220s. Only one contemporary historical narrative of local origin is preserved from these crusades, the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia.[14] Compared to the earlier missionary historiography from the Baltic Sea region, Henry's imagery of the Livonian pagans is not particularly rich in detail.[15] However, in connection with the later representations of the St. George's Night Uprising, one element should be stressed: Henry capitalizes on the apostasy of the native peoples rather than their paganism.[16] This is closely connected with the justification of the crusades. As canon law forbade forced conversion of pagans, it legitimized the use of force by arguing that the campaigns were organized to make the native apostates return to the Church. In the newly conquered and converted regions, the acceptance of Christianity undoubtedly served as a sign of accepting a new power.[17] Yet the close combination of religion and hegemony also allowed all kinds of resistance against the new lords to be discredited as a lapse from the faith and the Church.

There is a limited number of documents that suggests the continued use of the images of paganism in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Even though the acceptance of the Christian faith, norms, and practices, especially among the rural population, must have been a slow process, as it was on the other frontiers of Christendom, claims of paganism and religious backsliding should not be taken at face value.[18] Similarly to the crusade period, they appear to bear witness to the aim of delegitimizing the political claims of the native population in Livonia. Among them, the late-thirteenth-century crusade proclamations are the most emblematic examples of the ways images of paganism and apostasy were also used after the end of the intensive crusade period in the Estonian territories in 1227.[19]These images should be

contextualized against the backdrop of Livonia remaining a crusade frontier, as the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order[20] was occupied with the campaigns against the Russian, Ingrian, and Karelian territories, as well as with the 'permanent crusades' against the Lithuanians. Also the conquest and conversion of the north-eastern territories of Livonia, Kurzeme (Curonia), and Zemgale (Semgallia) lasted until the late thirteenth century. The fact that no centralized power developed in medieval Livonia, but the area remained divided between the Order, the bishoprics, and the Danish king (until 1346), also contributed to the instability of these lands.

Historiography, however, appears not to have played a major role in the perseverance of the crusade-period imagery of the Livonian pagans, or apostates. This also relates to the scarceness of local history-writing in the Middle Ages, as there is a considerable gap in historiographical sources from Livonia between the late thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.[21] It was only the tumultuous times of the Livonian War (1558–83), bearing witness to military, political, and religious conflicts, that brought along a blossoming of local historiography. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have been called the golden age of Livonian history-writing, as at that time a number of chronicles, or histories, as the authors now preferred to call their works, were produced.[22] Owing to the major religious, political, and social changes characteristic of the period, however, it seems that the medieval images of 'paganism' were not put to use in the early modern representations of the native 'other'. Rather, the Protestant authors focused on popular superstitions, using these representations as a way of criticizing the legacies of Catholicism. Moreover, it appears that the early modern schemata also started to affect the depictions of the earlier conflicts between the Christian colonizers and the natives. In the following discussion, I address these issues by focusing on the records of the St. George's Night Uprising. Originating from both the medieval and early modern period, they provide particularly good material for exploring the transformation in the imageries of the native peoples.

The St. George's Night Uprising in medieval sources: the chronicle of Hermann of Wartberge

In Baltic historiography, it has been common to complain of the lack and quality of the sources about the St. George's Night Uprising. None of the preserved sources is contemporary; some give a very short and others a strongly partial description of the events, as the medieval accounts clearly favour the viewpoint of the Teutonic Order. In sum, the sources give a varying picture of the uprising. These differences, nevertheless, should not necessarily be seen as a fault, as the sources thereby provide good material for studying the changes in the status of the natives and the shifting attitudes towards them.

As for medieval historiography, the main contemporary source for the uprising was the *Rhymed Chronicle* of Bartholomäus Hoeneke.[23] Produced in the mid-fourteenth century, it covers the years 1315–48 from the perspective of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order. However, Hoeneke's manuscript has not been preserved.[24] Since the nineteenth century, a strong belief in the possibility of reconstructing Hoeneke's chronicle has spread.[25] This approach has recently been contested, showing that it is impossible to recreate Hoeneke's text on the basis of its possible adaptations by other authors.[26] On the other hand, this new viewpoint affords more agency to the later chroniclers and enables us to study the later accounts of the uprising in their own right, as sources about the mentality and attitudes characteristic of their own age.

Firstly, I look at the two medieval records of the uprising, the chronicles of Hermann of Wartberge and Wigand of Marburg. Many scholars have already drawn attention to the feature that most significantly distinguishes these medieval accounts from the early modern versions, which is that they still represent the revolt as an attack against Christianity.[27] Nevertheless, both descriptions deserve closer attention.

The author of the earlier of the two accounts, Hermann of Wartberge (d. *c.* 1380), was the chaplain of the Livonian master of the Teutonic Order.[28] The *Chronicon Livoniae* ('Chronicle of Livonia'), which he produced in the 1370s, covers the period from the start of the Livonian mission and crusades (*c.* 1196)[29] up to the year 1378.[30] In later historiography, Hermann's chronicle has never been valued very highly, as this linguistically and stylistically rather poor text contains many mistakes and not much new information (save for the last twenty years it covers). While institutional commitment is hardly unusual for medieval history writing,[31] Hermann's chronicle is still particularly clearly biased, representing the viewpoint of the Order. Nevertheless, as has recently been shown, while the text may have little to say about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries history of Livonia, it offers a valuable insight into the contemporary mentalities and the fourteenth-century struggles for hegemony.[32]

The primary goal of this chronicle is the legitimization of the Teutonic Order's privileges in Livonia. The almost permanent rivalry between the Teutonic Order and the bishoprics of Livonia became particularly critical in the fourteenth century.[33] Hermann's account of the St. George's Night Uprising, written down about thirty years after the event, seems to have been based on documents and letters that were produced to justify the occupation of the Estonian duchy by the Teutonic Order during the suppression of the uprising. Three early-sixteenth-century regests from the archives of the general procurator of the Teutonic Order are still preserved in Rome, which contain a summary of letters representing the uprising and thus allow an insight into the Order's diplomatic strategies.[34] It seems probable that the Order had been accused of acting against the Church by the archbishop of Riga, who thus asked his subordinates to write letters that lauded the Order for suppressing the revolt and justified its invasion of the domain of the Danish king and the bishop of Saaremaa.[35] In many ways, Hermann's chronicle offers a description of the Order's main arguments in a nutshell, and it was probably also intended for foreign audiences. Although it was probably never used for this aim, the text spread widely, and was known among Prussian and Livonian chroniclers.

Wartberge's chronicle gives a rather long description of the main phases of the conflict in Harjumaa, around Tallinn, as well as in Läänemaa and Saaremaa. Unlike the later historiographical accounts, Hermann's chronicle represents the uprising as primarily a religious conflict. However, he does not depict it as a clash between paganism and Christianity, but argues that the Estonians have apostatized, using an argument very similar to that used for the earlier crusade period.[36] Hence Hermann's descriptions of the beginning of the uprising first in Harjumaa and then in Läänemaa and Saaremaa start not with a phrase such as 'rose against' or similar, but with 'relapsed from the faith'. First, we learn that the 'neophytes' of the bishopric of Tallinn 'relapsed from the faith', and as the story proceeds, also the 'neophytes' of Läänemaa and Saaremaa are said to have done the same.[37] To judge the rebels, Hermann's chronicle also uses another term that was widely appropriated during the crusade period and had strong religious associations – and this is 'perfidy'.[38] In the Middle Ages, the concept of perfidy was highly negatively charged, both in feudal and religious contexts. During the Livonian crusades it was likewise strongly

associated with the neophytes' tendency to break loyalty to both secular and ecclesiastical authorities.[39]

As we can see, Hermann has also markedly labelled the participants of the uprising as 'neophytes'.[40] While during the crusade period, and in Henry's chronicle in particular, 'neophyte' also had positive connotations,[41] during the strengthening of the rule of the new colonial elite, the concept became more and more pejorative. It was used up to the sixteenth century to determine not so much the religious, but rather the social characteristics of individuals.[42]Writing in the late fourteenth century, Hermann stands in between these two traditions, but nevertheless his use of the term seems closer to the negative conceptualizations.

Tellingly also Hermann's representation of the restoration of peace and order in Livonia is framed with religious and ecclesiastical vocabulary that capitalizes on the neophytes accepting the faith anew and rejoining the Church. Thus, at the end, according to him, the Saaremaa men 'sent messengers asking for peace, promising that they wished to accept the faith again. They were received back into the bosom of the Church'.[43] This also recalls the vocabulary that the crusade-period sources had used for describing peace negotiations, as these texts also represent accepting the faith and joining the Church as the main condition for establishing peace.[44]

The religious connotations of Hermann's chronicle do not end here, as in addition our author also gives a detailed description of the killing and torturing of the Christians by the rebels. The emphasis on anti-Christian violence is visible already from his account of the beginning of the uprising.

> Behold, a day before the festival of St. George the neophytes of the bishopric of Reval relapsed from the faith; they killed their lords and all the Germans together with their little children; they struck infants against the rocks; they threw them into the fire or water, doing things that are shameful to tell; they cut up women with swords and transfixed the children that fell out of their wombs with lances; they burned down their houses and other edifices; they set fire to the churches, as well as the monastery of Pades; they slaughtered 28 monks, turning aside their pleas, while the abbot escaped together with a few. And those the men had left alive the enraged women killed even more cruelly. The number of those killed from both sexes was 1700. Not satisfied with these doings, they besieged those of the vassals and the faithful who had escaped in the castle and city of Reval, together with the bishop and the clergy; on top of this, as the story goes, they seized an image of the cross from a hospital in front of the city and hung it at the gallows next to the hanged bodies, and, so it is said, they also crucified a Christian boy in the same manner as the Lord was crucified.[45]

The detailed descriptions of the atrocities arguably performed by the participants of the uprising against the Christians have strong religious connotations, of which the reader is most clearly reminded in connection with the Christo-mimetic sufferings of the Christian boy. The torturing of the monks further adds to this. As such, Hermann's account also echoes the tradition of anti-Christian violence that is well founded in the early Christian tradition and hagiography, but also flourished during the crusades.[46] During the crusades, next to the killing of Christians, sources often highlighted the enemies' attack against Christian sacred places,[47] which likewise is the case with Hermann's account, that points to the burning of the churches and the monastery.

Hermann also presents another invariant feature of anti-Christian violence, which appears in connection with his account of the spread of the uprising to Saaremaa. Even though it contains fewer violent details, the story still culminates in a representation of the perfidious Saaremaa people not keeping their promise to spare the life of the Christians, as they killed the clerics and the members of the Order either by stoning them to death or drowning them, and also slew many Christians from both sexes.[48]

At present, scholars appear to agree on rejecting Hermann's arguments about the uprising being specifically targeted against the Christian faith. Tiina Kala, for example, has poignantly claimed that references to backsliding should not always be understood as rejecting the Christian faith; they could also designate disloyalty or rebelliousness towards the administrative and ruling systems introduced to Livonia as a result of the crusades and conversion.[49] That apostasy was a strong argument is also suggested by the use of similar claims in the letters written in support of the Order, mentioned above. These also tell of the relapse of the neophytes, and their killing of the Christians, and they praise the Order for bringing them back into the Catholic faith. Stressing the religious aspects enabled the Order to present itself in favourable terms to the papacy as a defender of the Church and Christians.[50] Hermann, who was probably writing with a diplomatic agenda in mind, also appears to have used the arguments that the Teutonic Order knew and deemed suitable for representing itself in favourable terms, especially for a papal audience.

Nevertheless, Hermann's text is interesting as an example of the continuity of the schemata that were introduced for depicting the conflicts with the native peoples during the crusades. A number of elements used by Hermann remind us very much of the earlier crusade chronicle by Henry of Livonia, who likewise stresses the apostasy and perfidy of the natives, as well as their violence against Christians. Yet one can scarcely speak of a textual transmission between these two texts.[51] Thus, one should speak about another kind of continuity, that in the first place relates to the tradition of the Teutonic Order, which had also been closely involved in the Livonian crusades. In a broader context, this relates to the formation of the medieval opposition between *Christianitas* and its enemies, which was significantly developed by the institutions, such as the military orders, who were engaged in the expansion of Christendom to its frontiers and took advantage of this discourse in their fight for hegemony.[52]

Wigand of Marburg's *Chronica nova Prutenica*

The second fourteenth-century account of the St. George's Night Uprising also comes from the circles of the Teutonic Order, but from Prussia. This is the rhymed chronicle of the Order written by Wigand of Marburg in the mid-1390s. Wigand acted as a herald in the service of the Order. The chronicle that he wrote, covering the period between 1294/1295 and 1394, is one of the most important sources about the Order's history in Prussia. Yet this text, written in Middle Low German verse, has not been preserved: out of an estimated length of around 17,000 lines, only about 500 have survived. There exists, however, a fifteenth-century translation of Wigand's work into Latin.[53] As it is relatively loose and abridged, as well as contains many errors, using this text for any detailed study about the transmission of imageries is problematic. On the other hand, it is still possible to speculate on the main traits of the general imagery of the uprising and the rebels, as represented by Wigand in the late fourteenth century.

Most importantly, in this text, the idea of a religious confrontation is still present.[54] However, unlike Wartberge's narrative, where this interpretation frames the representation of the uprising as a whole, here it occurs only in connection with the calling of the native antagonists 'pagans' and 'persecutors' or 'enemies of the faith'. The context where these terms occur also points to their possible origin, suggesting that Wigand probably used the Order's correspondence as source material. In Wigand's text, the rebels are called 'persecutors of the faith' in connection with a message that the Livonian master sent to the general master of the Teutonic Order concerning the uprising: 'the same master [Burchard von Dreileben] informed Master

Luter [Ludolf] in Prussia how the aforesaid Estonians, Harriensians, Öselians, the persecutors of the faith, wished to devastate the whole of Livonia; how they had killed knights, etc. and everybody they had got hold of; and how too they wanted to come upon all Christians on a day set by them; but the grace of God averted this.'[55] In response to this, the master of the Order sends an army to fight 'the enemies of the faith'.[56] The term 'pagans' occurs only once and is also directly connected with the vision of the Order's role as the force fighting the pagans. Hence, before the battle near Reval we hear that 'When the master Burchard learned of this [the raids of the rebels], he crossed over with his men in a great force close to Reval in order to restrain and convert the aforesaid pagans.'[57] On the one hand, this offers a good example of the functionality and longevity of these negative signifiers of the enemy in the Order's strategies of communication. It is good to bear in mind that Wigand was writing his chronicle at around the *Abendlicht* of the fight against paganism, as in 1394 the great pagan enemy of the Order, the Lithuanians, accepted Christianity. On the other hand, while these broad signifiers – 'pagans' and 'persecutors of the faith' – have survived, a much more detailed imagery of religious confrontation has ebbed away. As discussed above, in-depth representations of religious violence and persecution, characteristic of the discourse of the crusades and military orders were still visible in Wartberge's chronicle discussed above.

Tellingly, Wigand's representation of the event as a whole does not emphasize religious conflict, but the exploitation of the Estonians by the vassals of the Danish king. Thus the introduction to the uprising starts with a complaint by the Estonians:

> In the year 1343, at the time of Master Luter [Ludolf], when the Danish king was still ruling in the land of Reval, etc., the knights and vassals of the king repressed the people with such burdens and torments that they in pain and sorrow complained to the master and the brothers, especially those who are commonly called Estonians, Öselians, as well as other common people. Their violence was so great that they dishonoured their wives, deflowered virgins, took away their possessions, and used them as slaves. Because of this the Estonians, the Harriensians and the Öselians rose up against them and sent [envoys] to the king to ask whether he was willing to protect them against such oppression, as they preferred to die rather than to live under such a yoke, and if a stop were not put to this, they would complain to God and his saints. Everybody, young and old complained, publicly at such violent acts.[58]

While there are no sources suggesting the worsening of the legal status of the Estonians prior to the uprising, the chronicler's vision rather seems to stem from the wish to delegitimize the Danish rule in Estonia and to present the Order as a more suitable lord. This, however, brings significant ambiguity to the moral message of the whole representation and creates a number of controversies. Albeit the chronicle has labelled the participants of the uprising the enemies of the faith, they are also represented as suffering from unjust oppression and as eager to entrust their complaints to God – features that would usually be attributed to Christian protagonists. The image of the Order also does not remain untouched. According to the traditional scheme it is represented as the defender of the Christians against native paganism and apostasy, but then in this text the participants of the uprising also ask the Order to defend them. This occurs in connection with the events taking place before the battle near Tallinn:

> the aforesaid Estonians, Harriensians, etc. shamelessly besieged Reval with a large army and devastated the land with hostile cruelty by killing etc. When master Burchard learned of this, he crossed over with his men in a great force close to Reval in order to restrain and convert the aforesaid pagans. But they remained obstinate and wished to lay the city waste. And the master asked through an interpreter why had they done such evil by killing, etc.; and they said, aiming to gain the grace of the master, etc.: 'Master, we

> complained to you about our hardships and the misery and injustices that we have suffered from knights and nobility and we all truly wish rather to die than to be annihilated in this way, and we are all rising up for vengeance, which would in no way have happened, if you had given us at least a little justice.' But the interpreter betrayed the aforesaid Harriensians, and gave their words wrongly to the master and said that they had answered: even if they had not done such things so far, they would in the future; because of this the master in one mind with his people attacked them as well as [other] Estonians, and more than 12,000 of them were killed, until they sought mercy from the master.[59]

As a whole, the passage also offers a good example of the ways the chronicle simultaneously condemns the rebels, and gives them an opportunity to justify themselves when it suits the aims of delegitimizing the Danish rule. Characteristically of this controversial approach the reasons behind the escalation of conflict remain ambiguous: even though the text expresses some doubt concerning the honesty of the rebels' speech, the acceleration of negotiations into fighting is still attributed to the betrayal of the interpreter. Tellingly, his decision to alter the words of the rebels remains unmotivated, as this somewhat awkward dark spot in the otherwise smooth plot reminds us that the different elements of the story do not fit together.

Another crucial feature is the representation of violence. While Hermann of Wartberge offered detailed descriptions of anti-Christian violence, the adaptation of Wigand's text remains short-worded. An illuminating example of this is the phrase 'killing, etc.', which is used often in the text. The beginning of the story offers another good illustration to the approach, as it briefly states that 'the people were deceived; much wrong became of this, think: the killing of knights, servants, free men, and everybody'.[60] While the brevity of these descriptions no doubt also results from the fact that we are dealing with an abridged translation, it is still noteworthy that the text is not that short-worded when it comes to the violence that the Danish vassals are argued to have executed against their native subordinates. The exploitation motif is not entirely a novelty in Livonian medieval historiography, as it has been used for discrediting rivals before.[61] What is new in this text, however, is its much greater attention towards the details of the oppression. As discussed below, the detailed depictions of the exploitation of the natives became a central element in early modern histories. Concerning Wigand's chronicle, or at least as much as we know of it on the basis of the later adaptation, we could also interpret this text as one of the first indications of a motif that some hundred years later was to blossom into one of the most widely appropriated themes in the writings about the Baltic.

Against the backdrop of the available narratives of the uprising, then, Wigand's chronicle appears as a transitional work. On the one hand, it bears witness to the resistance of a number of well-established ways of representing the antagonists. On the other hand, the watershed between the Christians and their enemies gets curiously blurred. On the whole, this creates a noticeable tension between the different elements of the story and its moral economy, which one could also read as the first careful signs that the old, crusade-period schemata are about to change. Most noteworthy of these is the transformation of the main arguments used to justify the intervention of the Order in matters of the Danish duchy. Hermann still emphasized religious confrontation and the opposition between the native, arguably relapsed, Estonians and the settler Christians. Wigand, on the other hand, builds his arguments on another kind of opposition that juxtaposes good and bad governance, and thereby diminishes the agency of the natives.

The transformations of the uprising in the early modern period: Johann Renner

By far the longest and most detailed source for the St. George's Night Uprising is from the sixteenth century. This is the *Liflandische historia* ('Livonian history'), written in the 1570s by Johann (Johannes) Renner (*c.* 1525–83). Born in Westphalia in northern Germany, Renner arrived in Livonia in 1556 and worked as a secretary to the bailiff of Järva (Ger. Jerwen) residing in Paide and as a scribe for the *Komtur*[62] of Uus-Pärnu (Ger. Pernau). In 1561, Renner returned to Germany and settled in Bremen, where he also wrote his history of Livonia. Renner's work, however, remained unpublished,[63] unlike the widely popular Livonian chronicle written by his contemporary Balthasar Russow (more on which below), even though they both covered much the same topics, including the Livonian War (1558–83), that were of considerable interest to the German reading public.

In the first three books of his chronicle Renner depicts the earlier history of Christian Livonia, including the St. George's Night Uprising. Previously it was often thought that the second book was not only based on Hoeneke's Rhymed Chronicle (as it certainly was), but also mediated that work. Yet recent studies have challenged this view.[64] As stated, nevertheless, abandoning the notion that Renner largely reflects Hoeneke enables us to study his account of the uprising against the backdrop of his own time.

Indeed, even a brief comparison of Renner's history and the fourteenth-century chronicles show remarkable differences, particularly concerning the representation of the event as a religious conflict. Unlike the earlier authors, Hermann and Wigand, Renner makes only a few minor references to apostasy. His most explicit example concerns some Estonians who are at first shown begging for mercy from the master of the Order, promising 'never to revolt against the Christianity' and are then said to have 'relapsed again'.[65] While this no doubt reflects the already familiar scheme according to which any revolt against the existing rule was delegitimized as a relapse from the Christian faith, as well as recalls the emphasis on the perfidy of the native neophytes, the argument is not central to Renner's representation. According to him, it is not religious but social conflict between the subjects and their rulers that stands at the centre of things. It is worth examining in more detail what kind of social conflict he depicts.

It has often been argued that Renner depicts the event as a peasant uprising, as he sees the medieval revolt from the perspective of the sixteenth century, a time of great peasant upheavals.[66] Renner indeed represents the peasants as accusing the nobility, i.e. the vassals of the Danish king, of exploitation and mistreatment. For example, during the negotiations between the rebels and the Order in Paide, one of the Estonian leaders also claims that 'they have been tortured and afflicted for so long that they could not tolerate or bear this any longer'.[67] Like Wigand, Renner also points out the master's willingness to take their complaints seriously and to act as an intermediary, thereby representing the Order as the highest paternal authority in Livonia: in his chronicle, the master of the Order invited the envoys to Paide as he 'wished to know what reason they had for relapsing and if the Germans were the ones to be blamed; he wished to carefully strive for the bettering of all things'.[68] Yet, as we know, no agreement was reached in Paide, and all the Estonian envoys were killed. According to Renner, it was an attempt by one of the Estonians to kill the bailiff that led to the killing of all the envoys. Thus the Estonians, who during the negotiations are heavily blamed for the killing of the Germans, are also to blame for this bloodshed.

However, in Renner's representation, the conflict is not merely a social one, but also an ethnic one. He indeed calls the rebels 'peasants' (*buren*), but equally often also 'the Estonians' (*Eesten*), which echoes the closer linking of those two concepts in the sixteenth century.[69] The term occurs especially frequently in connection with conflict management,[70] with military confrontations (e.g. listing the parties involved, or the ones killed in action),[71] and with negotiations between different groups.[72] Hence the uprising is depicted as not only a social but also an ethnic conflict. According to this chronicle the main reason behind the whole uprising was the hatred of 'the Estonians' towards 'the Germans'. An emblematic example of this occurs in connection with the beginning of the uprising, when the Estonians

> wanted to attack suddenly and kill all the Germans together with their women and children. So this then also happened, because they started to beat to death virgins, women, servants, maidens, nobles, and non-nobles, young and old; everybody who was of German blood was doomed to die there. In the Padis convent they slew 28 monks and burned the convent. They burned down all the estates of the noblemen, they crossed the country and killed all the Germans they came across.[73]

A number of similar accounts exist, proclaiming that the Estonians indeed killed or at least attempted to kill everybody – men and women, young and old – belonging to the socially dominant German-speaking group.[74] In addition, Renner's history also presents some dramatic examples of the Estonians' hatred towards the Germans. During the negotiations in Paide, Renner argues, 'the master asked from the four [Estonian] kings why they had so mercilessly killed the Germans, both young and old, and slain them'. The Estonians famously replied, 'should there be a forearm-long German, he would have to die as well'.[75] And then, after the defeat of the Estonians near Reval, we learn that 'when the fighting had ended, many people from the city of Reval came to look at the dead: among them there was one citizen who was also one of the dead; there one Estonian jumped up and would have almost killed the burgher (so hostile are they to the Germans that this half-dead fellow wanted to kill the burgher), one horseman noticed this, hurried to the spot on horse and killed the Estonian outright'.[76] The same passage also offers an indication of a certain anxiety towards transgressing ethnic borders, as it tells of a German who had joined the Estonian troops and was hanged by the Order.[77]

The prominence of ethnic conflict could be interpreted as an indication of the growing importance of ethnicity that had been on the rise since the late Middle Ages.[78] Indeed, Renner also uses the names of other neighbouring major ethnic groups.[79] Admittedly, his text suggests that the ethnonyms were still far from all-encompassing at that time. Renner often signifies various groups according to their localities and speech, most significantly the 'Saaremaa men', while describing the spread of the uprising to the island.[80] At the same time, the chronicle still represents the uprising in Saaremaa as a variant of the first outbreak of the revolt in Harjumaa, motivated by an equally strong anti-German sentiment.[81]

There is, however, another feature that differentiates the Estonians from all other groups, and this is the use of 'peasant' as an alternative term to designate them. Particularly in connection with fighting between the Order and the rebels Renner has simultaneously used both terms, naming the adversaries both 'Estonians' and 'peasants'.[82] This probably reflects the growing ethnic and social segregation in Livonia, where the Estonian-speakers were becoming more clearly associated with the lower classes. This development, however, was more characteristic of Renner's own time rather than the fourteenth century. Next to this, this interpretation was feasible owing to the major peasant wars of the sixteenth century.

Renner's account also reflects the increasingly negative conceptualization of the peasantry. Linking the rebels with the 'peasantry' serves to delegitimize their enterprise – and even more so any claims for rule, showing that they are mere 'peasants' who are not fit or meant to rule. Characteristic of Renner's representation of the conflict is an emphasis on an inversion of social order, which can be found already in the lines introducing the uprising: 'In the year 1343, on the night of St. George there took place a great slaughter in Harrien, because the Estonians of Harrien wished to have their own kings and hence set this in train.'[83] The depiction of the following events also contains a number of elements that delegitimize the Estonians' right to elect rulers, or to rule, showing that all their attempts to imitate their lords remained futile – peasants remain peasants. Hence we learn that after the beginning of the uprising and the killing of the Germans

> they elected four Estonian peasants as kings; these adorned themselves with golden spurs and many-coloured coats, on their heads they put virgin crowns (that were in fashion in those days and golden), which they had stolen, they bound golden belts around their bodies; this was their royal insignia. Those women and children who had escaped from men were killed by the non-German women; they burned down the churches and the huts [of the monks]. When this had happened, the kings proceeded together with the Estonians and they besieged Reval with ten thousand men. There they accoladed the knights.[84]

Even though the rebels aimed to organize their forces and elect from among themselves 'knights' and 'kings', the following adorning of the kings with 'royal insignia' turned into a parody that capitalizes on their incompetence. Tellingly the parody is also gendered, as the kings are adorned with virgin crowns, and next to this, also the involvement of Estonian women in fighting contributes to discrediting the military qualities of the rebels and their cause as a whole. As a whole, Renner's description corresponds rather well with the late medieval and early modern patterns for representing peasant warfare that emphasize their irrationality as warriors and incompetence as rulers.[85] The peasants were often depicted as cowardly, treacherous, and cruel warriors, who are fundamentally unsuccessful in their attempts to imitate their lords and to replace them as the leaders of war and society. According to Renner, ultimately the rebels are defeated because of their lack of military and diplomatic skills, i.e. being unfit to fight and to rule. Unlike their lords, who fight for God, Christians, and their honour, the peasantry's fighting is not purposeful, as it is borne up by an irrational rage. However, the spread of such patterns also provided a new tool for delegitimizing one's enemies, as labelling them 'peasants' enabled them to be rejected as legitimate political agents, just as, in many ways, designating one's foes as 'pagans' or 'apostates' had functioned before.

Renner's chronicle also enables us to compare his version of the St. George's Night Uprising to a depiction of a contemporary uprising of the Estonians in 1560, which was the second greatest conflict between the Germans and non-Germans described in this text. Renner's representation of this uprising, which occurred during the times of the Livonian War, contains many similar elements to the depiction of the St. George's Night Uprising: it also calmly names the participants of the uprising 'peasants',[86] as well as highlighting the irrationality and violence of 'peasant warfare'. Also present is the idea of an attempt to invert the social order, as Renner explains the cause of the uprising in the following way: 'The peasants wanted to be free and no longer subject to the noblemen and so they tried to eradicate them.'[87] In addition, this account also includes a description of the peasants electing a king and performing a carnivalesque ceremony in his honour:

> When the Livonian peasants saw that the Germans and those in authority were unable to protect them, those from Harrien and Wiek banded together and elected a native blacksmith their king. They drove him around in a wagon, with an escort of twelve running alongside and one out in front playing a bagpipe. The king stuck two hats, one inside the other, on his head and stuck twigs in them. That was his crown.[88]

Very much recalling Renner's descriptions of the Estonian peasant warriors and their carnivalesque kings during the St. George's Night Uprising, this suggests that the early modern representational patterns offered new ways of describing a medieval uprising. As a whole, Renner's depictions of both revolts offer a fine example that at around this time the watershed between 'us' and 'them' was not constructed on religious grounds ('Christians' vs. 'pagans' or 'apostates'), nor does religion any more provide the most important tools for delegitimizing the enemy. In other words, the arguments over the legitimacy of the rival parties are based not on their religious, but their social adherence.

However, it is also important to stress that the fighting 'peasant' appears in Renner's chronicle not only as a caricature, and that the image of 'peasant rage' was something that one could take all too easily. There is also significant anxiety related to this carnivalesque inversion of the social order, particularly in connection with the depictions of the violence executed by the peasants against their lords. Indeed, Renner's depiction lacks the detailed descriptions of the torturing of the Christians, which had been particularly characteristic of Hermann of Wartberge's account of the uprising. Yet, Renner very much stresses the scale of the ethnic or class-determined violence caused by the uprising, as well as the Estonian peasants' aim of killing all the Germans, or everybody belonging to the nobility. As the best example of this, throughout the chronicle the St. George's Night Uprising is synonymously called 'the great murder' or 'killing'.[89] Quite similarly, his representation of the 1560 rebellion also contains disturbing images of radical violence. Even though a quick end was put to the uprising,[90] the account stresses the killing of the noblemen and the burning of their manors.[91]

Another early modern variant: Balthasar Russow

In order to explore the ways in which Renner's violent and carnivalesque imagery of revolting peasantry reflects the changes in the social status of the lower classes, as well as the new learned discourses about the peasantry, we can compare his account of both uprisings with versions of his contemporary, Balthasar Russow (*c.* 1536–1600). Russow was the most popular and widely read among the early modern Livonian historians, as his *Chronika der Provintz Lyffland*, first published in Rostock in 1578, became a bestseller in Germany and enjoyed two reprints.[92] Concerning the rise of the peasant imagery, it is also interesting to mention in passing that Russow's own life bears witness to the ways in which calling someone a 'peasant' (*Bauer*) was frequently used to discredit rivals in early modern Livonia. Because of its criticism of the Livonian nobility, his chronicle was subject to fierce reactions and its author was called a 'peasant ox' – while originally it was meant as a severe insult that served to delegitimize the author, later this claim was used to support the argument that Russow was indeed an Estonian.[93]

Russow's chronicle also reflects the changed conceptualization of 'peasant', and it is in his account of the St. George's Night Uprising that the term 'peasantry' becomes omnipresent. Throughout his description of the event, Russow prefers to call its participants 'peasants' instead of 'Estonians', and he also pronouncedly speaks about

'rebellious peasants'.[94] In a similar manner the chronicler speaks of the alliance made with the representatives of the Swedish Crown in Turku as a treaty made with the 'peasants'.[95] The identification of the rebels with their social class also stands out in comparison to the ways the chronicle has used ethnic terms for designating all other groups, such as the Germans, the Swedes, or the Russians.[96] Moreover, it is in Russow's chronicle that we find the social or class conflict truly placed at the centre of the uprising. While Renner still capitalized on the hatred of the Estonians against the Germans, Russow's emphasis is on the anger of the peasantry against the Germans. A good example of this occurs in his description of the beginning of the uprising:

> During this master's [Burchard von Dreileben's] reign, on the eve of the festival of St. George, the peasants in the Livonian district of Harrien committed terrible murders and atrocities. They slew in dreadful fashion almost all the Germans: noblemen, young and old, women and maidens, junkers and servants – everyone who was German. The rebellious peasants severely threatened the Germans in Harrien and Wierland, in Wiek, in Oesel and in all of Estonia.[97]

Another example of the peasant-theme is Russow's often-adapted account of the rebels invading the Order's castle in Viljandi (Ger. Fellin) while hidden in sacks of corn. While the story has become a locally well-known variant of the Troy legend and is probably based on local variants of a pan-European story,[98] the peasants and their military strategy are still clearly and strongly connected with the elements of their own social environment. According to Russow, the rebels hide themselves in sacks full of corn that they are supposed to bring as part of their taxes and tribute to the Order, and the rebellious peasants are also killed within these sacks by the professional warriors defending the castle.[99]

Quite unlike Renner, who stresses the inversion of the social order, Russow mentions the peasants' attempts to imitate their lords only in passing and does not include any carnivalesque elements.[100] Rather, the text emphasizes the scale of the violence executed by the peasants, especially against the nobility, as can also be seen from the passage cited above with its highlighting of the terrible murders and atrocities committed by the peasants. That the text is above all concerned with the killing of the upper-class members by the peasantry and not that much with religious conflict is also suggested by the way the murder of the monks in Padise is mentioned only briefly,[101] while especially in medieval accounts this had been one of the most significant arguments for delegitimizing the revolt. In Russow's representation, the large-scale killing of the members of the upper or socially dominant German-speaking class by the rebellious peasants appears not only fundamentally disturbing, but also humiliating. This is hinted at by a description of refugees from the nobility after the outbreak of the revolt in Harrien. 'During that same night when the killing took place, several noble men, women, and maidens, naked and without shoes or leggings, fled through thicket and marsh to Weissenstein or to Reval.'[102]

No doubt the descriptions of violence help to justify the intervention by the Teutonic Order.[103] Even though Russow (whose loyalty above all was to the city of Tallinn) had no obligations to the Order, that had indeed ceased to exist in Livonia in 1562, his text seems to have still transmitted a number of earlier, Order-oriented elements. Thus, for example, we see that the 'oppressed noblemen' markedly call for help from the Order.

On the other hand, representing the uprising as a conflict between the peasants and the nobility, Russow also gives voice to the complaints of the peasants. These are well enunciated in a scene where the peasants try to negotiate a peace treaty with the

master of the Order and 'offered to surrender to him on the condition that they would be tributaries of the master and the Order alone. They would rather all die than again acknowledge any nobleman as their lord. Long enough had the nobility manifested all manner of arrogance and tyranny.'[104] While the critique of the Danish vassals suggests the transmission of the earlier arguments promoted by the Teutonic Order, the representation at the same time harmonizes well with Russow's generally stronger emphasis on the exploitation of the peasantry. In turn, this is closely connected with his critique of the contemporary Baltic nobility, whom he blames for not supporting the Swedish cause during the Livonian war. Hence it is not surprising that the social conflict between the peasants and the nobility is even more strongly emphasized during Russow's account of the uprising of 1560.

> These peasants rose in rebellion against the nobility, claiming that although they paid the nobility heavy taxes and tribute, and were required to render extensive services, they received in return no protection from the noblemen in times of danger. [. . .] Consequently, they intended to be obedient to the nobility no longer, nor to render any services. If they were not released from these obligations, they intended to wipe out and destroy the nobility.[105]

The following representation of the rebellion, however, also includes an emphasis on the killing of noblemen.[106] Telling of the peasants failed attempts to negotiate with the city of Reval, the chronicler thereafter narrates how the noblemen 'took up arms and attacked the rebellious peasants at Lode. [. . .] Thus did the rebellion come to an end.'[107]

Russow's chronicle as a whole seems to be one of the first witnesses of a new kind of an otherness-discourse, which focuses on the radical mistreatment and exploitation of the native peasantry – and hence defines the 'other' not so much in terms of religion, but of class and ethnic and linguistic adherence. Among early modern authors, such extreme descriptions, and ones even more extreme, of the misuse of the Livonian native lower classes became widely popular. As shown by Paul Johansen, these representations stem from a humanist critique against serfdom. On the other hand they also bear witness to the emergence of a kind of a fantasy discourse on anti-peasant violence, which created its own textual universe containing various and often very radical tropes and for which there was considerable demand among the reading audience.[108]

Considering not only the imagery, but also the agency of the natives, however, this transformation, well indicated by Russow, brings in its train an equally radical change. Along with this move that shifts their image from pagans into peasants, they become more passive subjects of the power discourse. In other words, the early modern authors are not so much concerned with the agency of the natives, which in earlier writings was manifested through the depictions of them revolting against the new rule and relapsing from faith. Instead, they are interested in the possibilities of criticizing the contending lords by appealing to the physical and spiritual mistreatment of the native lower classes, mainly peasantry. These representations indeed provide the native rebels with only the passive role of being subject to bad (or good) governance, excluding the possibility that they might have had any other agendas.

Conclusion

My argument is that the accounts of the St. George's Night Uprising point to a number of significant transformations. On the one hand, these changes concern the

social status of the non-German lower classes, and on the other hand, the representation in the historical and polemical discourse.

Even though the idea was also attractive later for the Estonian nationalists, it is not likely that the St. George's Night Uprising was targeted specifically against the Christian faith. Rather it reflects the common practice of calling the foes of the Teutonic Order pagans or apostates, as well as the value of such arguments in the political communication of that time. It is equally difficult to consider it a peasant rebellion, as the event appears too well organized for this (including the alliances made with the Swedish and Russian rulers, as well as the contacts with the Danish king). However, the gradual replacement of the paganism and apostasy imagery with the vision of the uprising as a peasant revolt, motivated by exploitation and mistreatment, suggests that even the depictions of a medieval uprising were influenced by the growing social and ethnic segregation in Livonia.

Next to these no doubt great changes in the social environment, one also has to take into account the changes in the conceptualization of the ethnic and social 'other', including the spread of the increasingly negative, grotesque, and vulgar representations of the peasantry in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[109] On top of this, one should also consider the broad changes in the overall imagery of 'otherness' in the early modern period, which stemmed from the discovery of the new world, the growing circulation of texts and knowledge, numerous religious conflicts, and the reorganization of the state and administration.

These changes did not leave the Baltic provinces untouched.[110] However, as with other regions, the eastern Baltic also had its own specifics concerning the reshaping of the imageries of the 'other', which most notably concerned various visions of the external Russian threat.[111] Another feature particularly characteristic of Livonia, however, was the growing prominence of the negative imagery of the native, non-German peasantry, which can be observed in the chronicles discussed above. In connection with the early modern writings about Livonia, Stefan Donecker has even spoken about the emergence of the non-German peasantry as the 'internal antagonist', or the 'internal other', arguing that the authors of those tumultuous days, especially those with a Baltic background, appear highly suspicious of their own, non-German-speaking peasantry.[112]

This growing importance of social and ethnic segregation, as well as of social hierarchies and anxieties, is well illustrated by the transformation of the antagonists of the St. George's Night Uprising, who are turned from pagans into peasants. However, it should be stressed once more that while for early modern authors associating the rebels with the peasantry resonated with largely negative connotations and possible anxieties concerning the control of the non-German lower class, at later periods the peasant label also secured the popularity of the uprising in the histories of the Baltic as promoted by very different regimes.

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Vahtre, Sulev, ‘Die Briefe an den Papst über den Estenaufstand 1343’, *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 1 (2006), 45–55.

[1] This context is well analysed by Ivar Leimus (‘Kes võitis’), on whose research the following overview is based.
[2] As suggested by Leimus, ‘Kes võitis’, pp. 45–52.
[3] The majority of research stems from the rise of cultural memory studies; see Tamm, ‘History’, and cf. Kaljundi, ‘Hingejõu ilmed’.
[4] For the extensive study of the uprising from the perspective of Estonian history, see Vahtre, *Jüriöö*.
[5] For example, such Baltic German historians as Konstantin Höhlbaum, Axel von Gernet, and Hermann von Engelhardt, who compared the uprising with the German Peasants’ War (1524–5); while Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck, relying on August Ludwig von Schlözer, compared it to the other popular movements that spread over Europe in the fourteenth century: see Vahtre, *Jüriöö*, pp. 19–20.
[6] Cf. Kaljundi, ‘Hingejõu ilmed’, pp. 25–6.
[7] For an overview of the massive remembrance of the uprising in the cultural media, ranging from books and paintings to propaganda leaflets and performances, see Tamm, ‘Jüriöö tekst’, pp. 74–7.
[8] For the Soviet Estonian appropriations of the interwar national historiography and this trend in Soviet Estonian historiography in general, see Kivimäe, ‘Re-writing’, Raun, ‘The image’.
[9] In a Baltic context, these changes have recently been discussed most thoroughly by Stefan Donecker (*Origines Livonorum*). See also the chapter by Donecker in this volume.
[10] The first to draw attention to the Estonian origin of the Danish vassals was Paul Johansen (*Siedlung*); cf. Vahtre, *Jüriöö*, pp. 33–7.
[11] See Lenz, ‘Undeutsch’. For a classic study on the topic, see Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*. For the most recent discussion, see Kala, ‘Gab es’, and also Selart, ‘Non-German literacy’ for a comparative analysis of these terms from a wider Eastern European perspective.
[12] As well conceptualized in Mortensen, ‘The language’, as well as developed further by a number of authors in the collection Mortensen, *The Making of Christian Myths*.
[13] See Tamm ‘“A new world’ and ‘Inventing Livonia’; cf. Kaljundi, ‘Waiting for the barbarians’.
[14] See Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen, *Crusading and Chronicle*.
[15] For a comparative analysis of the representations of pagan barbarian ‘other’ in Henry’s Chronicle, and the earlier missionary chronicles from the Baltic Sea region, see Kaljundi, ‘Waiting for the barbarians’.
[16] Tamm, ‘How to justify’; cf. Kaljundi, ‘(Re)performing’, pp. 314–17, 322–7.
[17] Kala, ‘Rural society’, pp. 176–80.
[18] Recently, Tiina Kala has synthesized the sources for the study of the religious practices of the native peoples, as well as their representations in the Christian sources; next to the scarce historiographical materials, the other most significant group of sources is the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century statutes of Church synods and visitation protocols (see Kala, ‘Rural society, p. 171).
[19] In 1240, Pope Gregory IX authorized the archbishop of Lund to proclaim a crusade to Estonia (*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches*, no. 167); and papal calls for a crusade to Livonia and Curonia were also launched in the 1250s–1260s (*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches*, nos. 323, 325–6, 381, 384–6). The claims of the apostasy of the native peoples and their hostility against Christendom is also reflected in the contract made between the Teutonic Order and the Saaremaa people (1241) (*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches*, no. 169), which ended an uprising that had started in Saaremaa in 1236; as well as in the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*’s depiction of an uprising that took place in Saaremaa in 1260. See Kala, ‘The incorporation’, pp. 14–15.
[20] The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order was formed on the basis of the military order of the Sword Brethren, which was founded in connection with the Livonian crusades. After a devastating defeat of the Lithuanians in 1236, the remains of the Sword Brethren were joined with the Order in 1237.
[21] Save for the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (*Livländische Reimchronik*; also known as the *Older Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*), which represented the history of Christian Livonia from the crusades until the 1290s from the perspective of the Teutonic Order, no other major historiographical work has survived from medieval Livonia. In his study of the meagre use of Henry’s chronicle in later medieval sources from Livonia, Anti Selart (‘The use’) has pointed to the continuous rivalry between the Teutonic Order and the bishoprics, which led to the omission of Henry’s narrative that strongly supported the primacy of the Church of Riga.
[22] For the recent most in-depth studies on the early modern Livonian historiography, see Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa* and Hormuth, *Livonia*.
[23] Traditionally also known as the *Younger Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*. While it has been widely held

that Barholomäus came from Osnabrück and in Livonia he acted as the chaplain of the masters of the Order (Höhlbaum, *Johann Renner's*), Arno Mentzel-Reuters ('Bartholomaeus Hoeneke') has recently questioned this biographical knowledge.

[24] Save for a few, incomplete passages, probably deriving from this text, that were recently found in Berlin. For their publication, see Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke', pp. 54–6, and Olivier, 'Zwei Exzerpte', pp. 302–7.

[25] Konstantin Höhlbaum and Sulev Vahtre, the authors of the two editions of Johann Renner's representation of the uprising, which draws on Hoeneke, have never explicitly claimed to have reconstructed his Rhymed Chronicle. However, their editions have often been used as such. See Höhlbaum, *Johann Renner's*, Vahtre, *Liivimaa*. See below on Renner.

[26] See Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke'. Here, the concrete arguments of this deconstructive study are discussed in more detail below, in connection with Renner's chronicle.

[27] Kala, 'Rural society', and cf. Vahtre, *Jüriöö*, p. 23.

[28] Hermann is named a chaplain of the Livonian master of the Order in a document dating to the year 1366. He did not originate from Livonia, but was probably born in Westphalia in northern Germany.

[29] Like Henry of Livonia, Hermann starts his narrative with the arrival of the first German missionary Meinhard. Yet he dates this to the year 1143, while according to Henry this happened in the early 1180s.

[30] Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*. For Hermann and his chronicle, see Selart, 'Die livländische'.

[31] As argued by a number of scholars, institutional involvement shaped much medieval history writing (e.g. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 336–339, Spiegel, *The Past*, pp. 83–98).

[32] Selart, 'Die livländische'.

[33] The conflict escalated as the archbishops of Riga started to demand an oath from the Teutonic Order for their Livonian territories and the Order declined. Thereafter, the Order was repeatedly put under excommunication, while the archbishops of Riga dared to stay in Livonia only for a short period of time. In connection with this fight for hegemony, both parties produced texts to justify their own actions and to blame the deeds of their opponents, and often their arguments also referred to the distant past.

[34] A detailed analysis of the regests (i.e. summaries of archive documents) is provided by Vahtre, 'Die Briefe'. The letters were produced by the bishops of Tallinn and Saaremaa, the abbot of the Padise convent, and the northern Estonian nobility, and all of them appear to have been aimed at justifying the Order's initiative during the suppression of the uprising.

[35] Vahtre, 'Die Briefe', pp. 51–2. In 1373, the Order organized the writing of similar letters, which also recalled the Order's merits in suppressing the St. George's Uprising; see Vahtre, 'Die Briefe', pp. 52–4.

[36] For the use of these arguments in crusade period sources, see Tamm, 'How to justify'; and cf. Kaljundi, '(Re)performing', pp. 314–7; 322–7.

[37] Respectively, 'neophiti [. . .] abnegata fide relabuntur', Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 62; and 'neophiti [. . .] abnegata fide', ibid., p. 63. Once, Wartberge also calls the participants of the uprising 'infidels' ('infidelium').

[38] Thus the chronicler calls the rebels 'perfidious' ('perfidis'), as well as blaming the Öselians simultaneously both for 'perfidy' and 'apostasy' ('Osilianis in perifidia et apostasia remanentibus'): Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 64.

[39] The treachery of the local peoples plays an important role in the justification of the crusades in Henry's Chronicle of Livonia; see Kaljundi, '(Re)performing', pp. 314–6.

[40] At least three times in total.

[41] This reflected the contemporary concern for pastoral care (Schmidt, *The Popes*), but also the ideological and strategic importance of the inclusion of the newly converted native groups among the crusade army, which particularly concerned the involvement of the Livish and Lettgallian neophytes in the crusades against the Estonians. For this and for Henry's positive conceptualization of the figure of the good neophyte, see Kaljundi, 'Expanding communities'.

[42] Kala, 'Rural society', p. 189.

[43] 'miserunt nuncios pacem petentes, spondentes fidem recipere velle. Recepti sunt … ad gremium ecclesie', Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 64.

[44] Again, Henry's chronicle of Livonia offers a large number of such examples.

[45] Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, pp. 62–3.

[46] In connection with the crusades, such representations not only highlighted the cruelty of the enemy's deeds (thereby providing further legitimization for the campaigns) (e.g. Riley-Smith, 'Christian violence', esp. pp. 16–7; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, esp. pp. 17–8), but also stressed the Christo-mimetic nature of the sufferings of the crusaders and Christians at the crusade frontiers, thereby reflecting the penitential nature of crusading (e.g. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 84–5, 128), as well as the prominence of the *imitatio* Christi (see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 59–85).
[47] This also characterizes the historiography concerned with the conquest and conversion around the Baltic Sea. Kaljundi, 'Waiting for the barbarians', pp. 121–2. Many scholars have underlined the interest Henry of Livonia shows towards the representation of the de-sacralization of sacred places, e.g. Jensen, 'How to convert'. Henry's overall emphasis on space is discussed in Kaljundi, '(Re)performing', pp. 318–31; for the destruction of Christian places, especially cemeteries, see *ibid.*, pp. 322–7.
[48] 'In the same year, the neophytes ('neophiti') of the diocese of Saaremaa, having relapsed from faith ('abnegata fide) on the day before the festival of St. Jacob, besieged the bishop together with the clerics and other faithful in the castle of Hapsalu. They also besieged the castle of Pöide in Saaremaa, which was handed over to them after an agreement according to which the people and their belongings were supposed to stay intact, but the aforesaid neophytes stoned their bailiff, that is Brother Arnold, and Brother John the priest together with some other brothers and the servants of the Order to death, and they even drowned some of the clerics of the parish and some lay clerics in the sea, and they slew very many vassals and Christians from both sexes.' Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 63.
[49] Kala, 'Rural society', p. 179, note 64.
[50] Vahtre, 'Die Briefe', p. 51. The first of the letters (produced by the bishop of Saaremaa, the bishop of Tallinn and the nobility of northern Estonia) tells how the neophytes relapsed into paganism and killed all the Christians ('quomodo neophite in Livonia redeuntes ad paganismum trucidarunt omnes Cristianos'). The second (by the nobility of northern Estonia) narrates how neophytes killed Catholics and committed other atrocities, having relapsed into the error of paganism ('quomodo neophiti in terra Osiliensi insurgentes occiderunt catholicos et alia enormia commiserunt in errores gentilitatis relabentes'). The third (by the bishop of Tallinn and the abbot of the Padise convent) focuses on how the Teutonic Order fought against the Estonians from Saaremaa and north Estonia and brought them back to the Catholic faith ('quomodo magister et fratres in Livonia deficientes Ezilienses et Revalienses dimicaverunt et eos ad catholicam fidem reduxerunt'). Vahtre, 'Die Briefe', pp. 46–9.
[51] Even though traditionally Wartberge was believed to have used Henry's work, as recently argued by Anti Selart, this appears not to have been the case; it is more likely he used texts that represented the Order's view on Livonian history. As Selart has shown, the similarities between the two chronicles concern only the first chapters of Henry's chronicle that describe the early phase of mission and religious warfare in Estonia, and even here many of the details, the chronology, and political sympathies introduced by Wartberge are so different from Henry's account that it seems more plausible to suggest that Wartberge has used some alternative source. See Selart, 'The use', pp. 350–1; cf. Selart, 'Die livländische'.
[52] For a discussion on the formation of this discourse at the medieval frontiers see Berend, 'Défense'.
[53] For a publication of the fragments and the Latin translation of Wigand's chronicle, see 'Die Chronik Wigands'.
[54] Cf. Vahtre, 'Jüriöö ülestõus', 'Die Darstellung'.
[55] 'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 503.
[56] 'Upon hearing such talk, the master sent an army to the Livonian master . . . to deprive the Estonians, the Harriensians, the Öselians, all the enemies of faith ('fidei inimicos') of life on one day.' 'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 503.
[57] 'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 502.
[58] 'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 501.
[59] 'Die Chronik Wigands', pp. 502–3.
[60] 'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 501.
[61] For example, already the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia, written to support the cause and claims of the bishopric of Riga, blames the Sword Brethern (who later became the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order) for oppressing their native subjects.
[62] In the territories of the Teutonic Order, *Komtur* was the commander responsible for the running of an administrative division, such as, for example, the Pärnu division.
[63] This first publication of Renner's chronicle as a whole from 1876 was based on a manuscript that

was found in 1870. Later, it turned out that this was the second version of the *Liflandische historia*, reworked by Renner himself under the influence of Balthasar Russow's chronicle. In 1934, an earlier version of that part of the chronicle which covered the years 1556–61 was found and published as *Livländische Historien: 1556–1561* in 1953. This finding, however, did not concern Renner's representation of the St. George's Night Uprising, which had been published separately already in 1872 by Konstantin Höhlbaum, who had also composed a study on the topic the same year (Höhlbaum, *Johann Renner's*).

[64] The study by Arno Mentzel-Reuters ('Bartholomaeus Hoeneke'), mentioned above, points to a number of factors that make reconstructing a chronicle written by a fourteenth-century cleric belonging to the Teutonic Order (i.e. Hoeneke) on the basis of a history produced by an early modern Lutheran layman and notary (i.e. Renner) highly problematic: Renner's text was written in prose and Low German, while Hoeneke's text was written in verse and probably in Mid-German; the comparison of the preserved fragments of Hoeneke's chronicle and Renner's history also points to striking differences. Hence, on the basis of Renner's chronicle, it is difficult to conclude anything about the mentality of Hoeneke's chronicle, and even more challenging to reconstruct its original form.

[65] 'There [a village called Nectis likely located in Läänemaa] arrived envoys sent by other Estonians, who fell in front of the feet of the master and asked for mercy; they promised never to revolt against the Christian faith ('nimmermer jegen de christenheit to ahndelende'), but to be obedient from now on. Hence they were pardoned. But they did not keep their promise for long, but relapsed again, as we shall hear below.' *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 93.

[66] Hence even the scholars who considered his work as a more or less reliable source for studying Hoekeke have admitted that the term 'peasant' may have been interpolated into the representation of the uprising only by Renner. For example, Vahtre, *Jüriöö*, pp. 11–12.

[67] *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 88. Already prior to this, the envoys of the Estonians were sent to seek help from Turku with 'a message that they have killed all the Germans in Harjumaa, because they [the Germans] have tortured them, scourged them, and afflicted them and they are not given even dry bread for their great amount of hard work', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 87.

[68] *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 87.

[69] In connection with the closer linking of the term non-German to the peasantry around the same time, see Kala, 'Gab es'.

[70] Hence, the uprising is said to have started, because 'the Estonians of Harjumaa wished to have their own kings' ('dann de Eesten in Harrien wolden eigen koninge hebben') and they elected 'four Estonian peasants as their kings' ('koeren se 4 Eestische buren to konignen'); the latter are later called 'four kings of the Estonians' ('der Eesten ver koninge'): *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 86–8.

[71] In connection with military encounters, we learn that 'once 500 Estonians rode into the village of Ravila (Ger. Rawenick)', after which the brethren of the Order 'fell upon the Estonians in the village'. Before the fighting near Kämbla (Ger. Kimmele), there arrived '200 Estonians' and slightly later '100 Estonians more'. Whereas prior to the battle of Kanavere (Ger. Kannever) there had gathered 'many Estonians', after the encounter 'not many Estonians were saved', as only '15 Estonians' survived. Before the battle near Tallinn, the bailiff of Cēsis (Ger. Wenden) 'spoke to the Estonians', upon which 'the Estonians agreed' and 'the Estonians wished to surrender', but the army resisted, saying that 'the Estonians have slain their friends and relatives' and sending the bailiff 'again to the Estonians' ('wedder to den Eesten'). As the fighting begins, 'the Estonians' began to take flight. After the victory of the Order near Tallinn, there were put to death 'the principals of the Estonians and the initiators of the murder', whereas the representatives of the Danish king thanked the master of the Order 'for saving them and for getting rid of the Estonians'. A brother of the Teutonic Order, Goswin von Herike, is said to have claimed that 'this land has suffered great troubles from the Estonians', as well as wishing 'to know how many Estonians have been killed ever since this murder began', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 86–95.

[72] As the invitation for negotiations in Paide arrives, 'the Estonians liked [it] very much'. In connection with the peace talks, the chronicle speaks simply of Estonians ('Eesten'), and at the end says that the brothers of the Order 'hacked all those Estonians, kings and servants of war to death'. During the negotiations in Nectis, there arrived 'envoys sent by other Estonians', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 87–8, 93.

[73] *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 86.

[74] After the beginning of the uprising, the Estonians are said to have sent a message to the bailiff of Åbo, claiming that they 'have killed all the Germans in Harrien . . . for this [the exploitation of the

Estonians] the Germans have had to pay'. Thereafter, same thing allegedly happened in Läänemaa, as 'a few days after this [i.e. the start of the uprising in Harjumaa and the gathering of the rebels' army near Tallinn] all the Läänemaa men also slew all the Germans they could find there, just like it had been seen in Harjumaa, they went and besieged Hapsalu and killed 1800 people in Läänemaa, both young and old.' *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 87.

[75] *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 88.

[76] *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 90.

[77] 'Dar wort ein gafeangen Dudscher, de sich uth forchten sines levendes to den Eesten gegeven hadde, vor den mester gebracht; [. . .] Also wort disse afgefallenen Dudscher by den hessen upgehangen', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 90.

[78] See Kala, 'Gab es'.

[79] However, the Russians and Swedes are often mentioned in connection with the alliances the Estonians seek to make with them. For example, after the battle near Tallinn, Renner mentions 'the Estonians' attempt to ally with 'the Russians' ('Russen'). 'Now two Estonians from Harjumaa have gone to Pskov and told the Russians how they have killed all the Germans in Harjumaa together with the master and the brothers of the Order and how the Estonians have elected a king ('koning'); [. . .] so the Russians gathered 5000 men, invaded the bishopric of Tartu (Ger. Dorpat)', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 91.

[80] The ending of the uprising after the Order's campaign to Saaremaa in 1345 is also a good indicator of the use of such divisions, saying that Burchard von Dreileben, the master 'moved to Saaremaa together with the Latvians, Livs, Estonians, Semigallians, Curonians, the ones from the bishoprics of Riga and Tartu. [. . .] Then the Saaremaa men asked for peace. [. . .] Even though these [peace conditions] were disagreeable to the Saaremaa men', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 93.

[81] 'On the eve of St. Jacob's day during the same year, 1343, the Saaremaa men slew all the Germans, young and old, just like it had been seen in Harjumaa, they drowned the priests in the sea and went under the castle of Pöide the same day [. . .] That the bailiff could not hold the house, he consulted his people in order to make peace and to give away the castle. Everybody liked this, so they sent [envoys] to the peasants and told them that they wish to surrender peacefully. The peasants rejoiced over this [. . .] When now the gates were opened, they went away sadly, the peasants however did not keep their promise, but stoned them all to death.' *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 92.

[82] One good example relates to the battle of Kanavere: 'There was killed the brother Herman von Nesen and two more brothers of the Order, four noblemen and fourteen peasants ('buren'). But then not many Estonians escaped from there. The master came out of the marsh, he was wet and filthy; but when he learned that the peasants ('buren') are gathering again, he commanded his people and stepped to the marsh again against the peasants and they killed everybody they could get hold of.' *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 89. Also in connection with the fighting in Saaremaa the chronicler has used both terms synonymously. In connection with the besieging of an unknown fort in Saaremaa, we learn that 'many peasants ('buren') had gathered there. [. . .] Three brothers of the Order and 9000 male Saaremaa men were killed', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 92–3.

[83] *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 86.

[84] *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 86–7.

[85] Freedman, 'Peasant anger' and *Images*.

[86] The chronicle names them 'the peasants' (three times) and 'the rebellious peasants' (twice): *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, pp. 186–7.

[87] *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, p. 186.

[88] *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, p. 186.

[89] Already the introduction to the uprising promises to tell 'How the Estonians started a mass murder ('einen groten morth') in Harrien, Wiek and Ösel', and continues by stating that in 1343 there took place 'a mass murder ('ein groth mordt') in Harrien'. Thereafter the refugees report the bailiff of Weissenstein 'about this mass murder' ('dussen jamerlichen morth'), and thus the master of the Order also sends an envoy to the Estonians to let them know that he has been informed about 'this great murder ('de grote mordt') that they have executed'. Thereafter, the notion of the 'mass murder' is used throughout the text as a synonym of the uprising.

[90] According to Renner, the ending of the rebellion was equally violent as seventy of the peasants was slown, the king was drawn and quartered, and the other captives were tortured and executed: *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, p. 187.

[91] Thus Renner also provides a list of the killed noblemen. 'They [the peasants] burned a number of

noblemen's manors, slaying all the nobles they found there, among them Jacob Üxküll of Limmat (Lummat), Otto Üxküll of Kirkota (Kircheta), Jurgen Rise biter and Dirck Live.' *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, p. 186.

[92] The reprints were published in 1578 and 1584, the latter being considerably revised. See Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*.

[93] Johansen, 'Kronist Balthasar', cf. Urban, 'The nationality'; Kirss, 'Balthasar Russow'.

[94] For Russow's frequent use of the term 'peasants' see his account of the uprising as a whole, *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, pp. 29 –31. For example: in Harjumaa, 'the peasants assembled an army of close to ten thousand', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29; at Pöide on the Saaremaa Island, 'the peasants murdered them all [the Germans and brothers residing at the Order's castle]', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30; the master of the Order, while advancing to Reval, comes 'to punish the rebellious peasants' and then 'immediately began to slay many peasants in the battle', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

[95] These are the legates of the peasants who negotiate the treaty: 'The peasants sent their legates to the bishops of Turku (Åbo) and Vyborg (Wyborg), asking for assistance and promising to turn the city of Reval over to the Swedes', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29. When the ships arrive from Finland, the chronicle again underlines that they had allied with the peasants: 'the Finns arrived from Vyborg with several ships which had been commissioned by the peasants' legates. When they learned that the peasants had been defeated and Reval rescued, they entered the city, acting as if they knew nothing at all of the peasants' cause [. . .]', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

[96] A particularly good example of the different ways of signifying the various groups occurs in connection with the negotiations between the rebels and the Russians. 'Now when the other peasants in the country learned what had happened to their comrades at Reval, several of them urged the Russian to attack the Germans again. If he did, all the peasants in the country would perhaps come under his control', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

[97] *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29.

[98] The story occurs also in Renner's version. For the early modern variants of this story, and its later appropriations, see Kreem and Lukas, '"Romeo ja Julia"'.

[99] *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 31.

[100] Thus, as the uprising had started, Russow merely mentions in passing that 'the peasants assembled an army of close to ten thousand, choosing kings and princes from among themselves, and besieged the city of Reval and its castle', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29.

[101] 'Nor were the monasteries spared. Twenty-eight monks were murdered at the monastery of Padis', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29.

[102] *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29.

[103] So we see the master of the Order to recall the murder of the nobility as he turns down a peace offer of the rebels. 'But the commander in the Order and other noblemen, whose kinsmen had been murdered by the peasants, strongly urged the master to show the murderers no mercy and to not let such dreadful murder go unpunished', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

[104] *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

[105] *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, pp. 89–90.

[106] Russow also provides a list of the killed noblemen, saying that the rebels 'overran several estates and also killed a number of the noblemen whom they found on these estates, e.g, Jacob Uexkuell of Lummat, Otto Uexkull of Kircketa, Juergen Ryssbyter and Dietrich Lieven (Lyve)', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, pp. 89–90.

[107] *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, pp. 89–90.

[108] Johansen, 'Nationale Vorurteile'; cf. Kreem, 'Sebastian Münster', pp. 164–5.

[109] Next to written sources, visual culture also powerfully bears witness to the spread of the negative stereotypes of the peasantry around this time, as well synthesized in Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, pp. 136–9.

[110] See Donecker, *Origines Livonorum*. For the impact of especially the transatlantic voyages, see also the chapter by Donecker in this volume.

[111] Thumser, 'Antirussische Propaganda'.

[112] Donecker, 'The medieval', pp. 46–50. Of course, the peasantry is called the 'internal antagonist' vis-à-vis the 'external antagonist' that first and foremost associates with Russia. Donecker also refers to the idea put forward by Almut Bues who has characterized the mindset of the Livonian elites in the early modern period as a 'triple frontier mentality', directed against the Russian Orthodoxy, against the partly heathen population at home and, more weakly, against the Catholic Poland. See Bues, '"Die letst

Gegent”’.

ARTICLE SIX

Linda Kaljundi, with the collaboration of Kaspars Kļaviņš, The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions. – Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, eds. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 409–456.

Chapter 17

The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions

Linda Kaljundi, with the collaboration of Kaspars Kļaviņš[1]

Introduction

When the author of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia ended his text in 1227, rejoicing: 'return with joy, O Rigans! Brilliantly triumphal victory always follows you',[2] he had completed a founding narrative for the new Christian colony in Livonia. Considering its strong legitimizing agenda, the chronicle could have provided a magnificent example of the functionality of historiography in the construction of regional identities.[3] However, Henry's role in making memory for the elite communities in medieval Livonia was soon minimized due to the rivalry of the archbishopric of Riga and the Teutonic Order.[4] The chronicle excited little curiosity until the late Enlightenment.[5] In the nineteenth century, it was, nevertheless, rediscovered as the *Ur*-text of the Baltic communities, progressively overshadowing all other medieval and early modern chronicles. Yet, as in the medieval period, the modern adoption of Henry's narrative of things past has not meant merely embracing it with joy.

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[2] HCL XXX.6, p. 222; Brundage, p. 246.

[3] Cf. Patrick J. Geary, 'Reflections on Historiography and the Holy: Center and Periphery', in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (ca 1000–1300)*, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen, 2006), pp. 323–30 (here 323).

[4] See Chapter 14 by Anti Selart in this volume.

[5] See Chapter 15 by Stefan Donecker in this volume.

This chapter discusses the dialogue between Henry's chronicle and the Baltic-German, Latvian and Estonian national cultural memories from the nineteenth century to the present, arguing that the uses of the chronicle also reflect broader tendencies in the uses of history in the region of present-day Estonia and Latvia. 'Cultural memory' is a useful category for analysing appropriation histories. According to Jan Assmann's definition, it 'comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image'.[6] However, when analysing nationalist perspectives on Henry, one must consider the cultural roots of nationalism. Departing from the idea that Western nationalism is a symptom of the Enlightenment,[7] this chapter will briefly also discuss the Enlightenment view of the Livonian Middle Ages. In addition, the last part of the chapter analyses the relationship of the 'young nations' to the chronicler himself.

While each of these perspectives of Baltic conversion history differed considerably, the Middle Ages remain a central theme in the historical narrative of them all. For the Baltic-Germans, the crusades and Henry's chronicle constituted their founding legend, thus being of paramount importance for their historical identity. According to the Romanticist and nationalist trends, the Livonian crusade was conceptualized as a part of the civilizing mission of spreading the German *Kulturraum*. The chapter's prime focus, however, is Henry's chronicle's relations with the Latvian and in particular the Estonian cultural memory. Likewise, encouraged by nineteenth-century nationalism, Romanticism, as well as Enlightenment tradition, modern nations are identified with the tribes described by Henry.[8] Thus, for the young nations the crusades signified the waning of a golden age. Not surprisingly, then, their interpretations often conflict with Baltic-German medievalism, while still centred on the same phenomena: crusade and crusaders (harsh critique of crusading vs. crusade understood as a civilizing endeavour), and ancient local society and culture (mythical golden age of *bons sauvages* vs. brute barbarianism). The genealogy of these imageries shall be discussed, as well as their relationship to contemporary socio-cultural ideals and anxieties. Drawing on Homi Bhabha's remarks on how 'cultural translation' often does not result in comprehension, but rather

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[6] Jan Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique* 65 (1995), 125–33 (here 132). For a discussion on history as a form of cultural or social memory, see also Peter Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in his *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, 1997), pp. 43–59.

[7] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2nd rev. edn (London and New York, 2006), esp. pp. 5–36.

[8] For Henry's tribal representation, see Chapter 3 by Jüri Kivimäe in this volume.

in conflict and anxiety in the (post)colonial situation,[9] the chapter follows the process and struggles of 'translating' the chronicle for the Latvian and Estonian audience.

Enlightenment Heritages and National Traditions

Even though most of the known manuscripts of Henry's chronicle date to the early modern period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), it had little influence on the scholars of an era that witnessed the rise of *ars historica* as a critical discipline. As Anthony Grafton has remarked, this period produced remarkable changes in the attitudes towards historical knowledge, including an understanding that scholars must construct the past from the sources on offer.[10] Even if scholars knew of Henry's chronicle, very few used it in their reconstructions of the Livonian past. The best-known early modern Livonian historian who made significant use of Henry was Thomas Hiärn (1638–78).[11] This changed only after the Enlightenment. Ironically, the reception of a chronicle written in Latin, loaded with biblical-liturgical analogies, and striving for the legitimization of the church coincided with the gradual fall of the sacred language and fragmentation of religious communities – which was in turn the first precondition for the rise of nationalism.[12]

In eighteenth-century Livonia, the enthusiasm towards medieval history can be explained with the uses of the Middle Ages for political and moral comment, as well as social rivalry within the nobility.[13] The critique was also linked to abolishing or reforming the serfdom of the Latvian and Estonian peasants, as the origins of slavery were seen to lie in the crusades. In addition, these views had a religious dimension that combined ideas about 'natural religion' with criticisms

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[9] Homi Bhabha, 'How Newness Enters the World: Postmodern Space, Postcolonial Times and the Trials of Cultural Translation', in his *The Location of Culture* (London and New York, 2007), pp. 303–7.

[10] Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 1–61 (here 32–3).

[11] Hiärn wrote his Swedish-minded chronicle in the 1670s. See Thomas Hiärn, *Ehst-, Lyf- und Lettländische Geschichte* (Riga, Dorpat and Leipzig, 1835), and Chapter 15 by Stefan Donecker in this volume for further references.

[12] Cf. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 19.

[13] Hubertus Neuschäffer, 'Geschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der Aufklärung', in *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Georg von Rauch (Cologne and Vienna, 1986), pp. 63–86 (here 73–5). For an introduction into the Baltic Enlightenment's view of local history, see Kaspars Kļaviņš, 'The Baltic Enlightenment and Perceptions of Medieval Latvian History', JBS 29/3 (1998), 213–24.

of the church. Thus, the Enlightenment histories of the Livonian 'Dark Ages' on one hand centred on the negative conceptualization of the crusades, crusaders and Catholic church, and, on the other, on the *bons sauvages* style depictions of the natives. And as these representations became central in social debate, they also contributed considerably towards enlivening the reuse of Henry's chronicle.

The core ideas of the Baltic Enlightenment were produced by three authors: Garlieb Helwig Merkel (1769–1850), August Wilhelm Hupel (1737–1819) and Heinrich Johann von Jannau (1753–1821).[14] They also designed the critical image of the Livonian Middle Ages that (especially in Merkel's version) had great impact on the Estonian and Latvian national histories. Not surprisingly, the Enlightenment authors devoted much effort towards representations of the ancient natives. The later nationalist authors eagerly reused these, even though the discourse of the 'noble savage' was designed for discrediting the nobility.[15] While Merkel's account of the culture and religion of the Old Latvians relied on a mishmash of borrowings,[16] in the Estonian case he departed from *T(h)arapita*, 'the great god of the Öselians' who is mentioned five times in Henry's chronicle.[17] While according to Henry it is a name, since the seventeenth century it has been interpreted as a war cry: 'Taar(a), help us' (Est. *Taar(a) avita*), or even 'Thor, help us' (Est. *Thor avita*), linking it to the fashionable Scandinavian mythologies. Merkel was not alone in this interest, as already by that period *Tharapita* was on its way to becoming one of Henry's most significant contributions to Estonian cultural memory. The identification with Thor was established in the late seventeenth-century chronicles of Thomas Hiärn and Christian Kelch (1657–

[14] Merkel's *Die Letten vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1797) and *Die Vorzeit Lieflands. Ein Denkmal des Pfaffen- und Rittergeistes* (Berlin, 1798) provided the most influential treatment of ancient natives and the Baltic Middle Ages. Hupel discussed it in the first volume of *Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehstland* (Riga, 1774). Jannau used historical interpretation for developing political and social arguments in his *Geschichte der Sklaverey und Charakter der Bauern in Lief- und Ehstland* (Riga, 1786).

[15] Cf. Hayden White, 'The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish', in his *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London, 1985), pp. 183–96 (here 191). In the Estonian context, this shift in meaning has also been pointed out by Jaan Undusk, 'Kolm võimalust kirjutada eestlaste ajalugu. Merkel – Jakobson – Hurt', *Keel ja Kirjandus* 11–12 (1997), 721–34 and 797–811 (here 728–9).

[16] He especially relied on descriptions of the Old Prussians by other medieval chroniclers. Merkel adapted the description of the Old Prussians from 'The Deeds of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen' (around 1070) by Adam of Bremen, and from the works of several later historians who, in turn, have used *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* (around 1320s) of Peter of Dusburg.

[17] HCL XXIV.5, p. 175, XXX.4, p. 218, XXX.5 (twice), pp. 220, 221, XXX.6, p. 222.

1710).[18] This tradition preserved well into the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: it was used by Johann Daniel Gruber (1686–1748) for the first edition of Henry's chronicle, by Johann Gottfried Arndt (1713–67) for its first German translation, and also by Merkel and Hupel.[19] Later it also gained a spatial dimension: in 1836, Georg Magnus Knüpffer (1785–1863), the minister of Väike-Maarja, localized the Ebavere hill as the starting point of *Tharapita*'s flight to Ösel, basing the argument on his reading of Henry.[20] Even today, the Ebavere legend remains widely appropriated in local heritage tourism.

Merkel's representations of the ancient socio-political world were shaped on the model of the Greek *polis*, another contemporary ideal. In presenting the political system of the ancient Estonians as republican, he presents Henry's ambiguous reference to a meeting in Raikküla as a proto-parliament where the nation gathered once a year for discussing common matters.[21] Later, the interpretation became essential for the national tradition. Merkel also interpreted Henry as putting forward an idea that would later become one of the favourite motifs of Estonian national history writing: the extraordinary bravery and die-hard resistance of the ancient Estonians during the crusades.[22] For instance,

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[18] Hiärn, *Ehst-, Lyf- und Lettlandische Geschichte*, p. 31. Christian Kelch, *Liefländische Historia* (Reval, 1695), p. 26. One should also point to the impact of Johann Wolfgang Boecler's *Der Einfältigen Ehsten Abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (Reval, 1685) on the spread of the Thor interpretations, especially in the nineteenth century; see Aivar Põldvee, '"Lihtsate eestlaste ebausukombed" ja Johann Wolfgang Boecleri tagasitulek. Lisandusi kiriku, kirjanduse ja kommete ajaloole', in *Ajalookirjutaja aeg*, ed. Piret Lotman (Tallinn, 2008), pp. 141–227.

[19] *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, seu chronicon Livonicum vetus* ..., ed. Johann Daniel Gruber (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740), p. 149; *Der Liefländischen Chronik Erster Theil von Liefland unter seinen ersten Bischöfen* ..., trans. Johann Gottfried Arndt (Halle, 1747), p. 166. For the *Tharapita* interpretations, see Ants Viires, 'Taara avita!', in his *Kultuur ja traditsioon* (Tartu, 2001), pp. 48–68, and also Urmas Sutrop, 'Taarapita – The Great God of the Oeselians', *Folklore* 26 (2004), 27–64.

[20] 'There was there a mountain and a most lovely forest in which, the natives say, the great god of the Oeselians, called Tharapita, was born, and from which he flew to Oesel.' HCL XXIV.5, p. 175; Brundage, pp. 193–4. See Georg Magnus Knüpffer, 'Der Berg des Thorapilla: Ein historischer Besuch', *Das Inland* 22 (1836).

[21] Describing 'the first raid to Harrien' (1216), Henry mentions that: '... they entered the province of Harrien which is in the midst of Esthonia. There every year all the people round about were accustomed to assemble at Raela to make decisions.' HCL XX.2, p. 135; Brundage, p. 156. See Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands*, pp. 248–9. Merkel similarly argued that ancient Latvians had developed political society to a level similar to that of the Greek republics.

[22] The transfer of this motif from Merkel to national history writing has also been pointed out in Ea Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte

Henry often emphasizes the pride and stubbornness of the pagan Estonians, using expressions such as they 'still held up their heads and would obey neither the Germans nor the other nations'.[23] This and several similar passages have been (and still are) of great significance for the construction of the Estonian national identity and have often been appropriated in the glorification of the national character. In the original context, however, stubbornness was seen as a negative feature, demonstrating an opposition to the true faith and the right order of the world, and bearing allusions to the revolting tribes of the Old Testament.[24]

Interpreting the crusades as a struggle between the church and republicanism, or tyranny and liberty, Merkel also made way for the popular later concept of the crusades as a native 'fight for freedom'.[25] This leads us to the criticism of the medieval Catholic church and crusading, which, together with the view of the Middle Ages as a dark period, relied on key authors such as Voltaire (1694–1778), David Hume (1711–76), Denis Diderot (1713–84) and Edward Gibbon (1737–94). In the Baltic context, it also drew upon Johann Gottlieb Herder (1744–1803).[26] Similarly to positive representations of the natives, this negative strategy later gained importance for Latvian and Estonian nationalism. Thus, for these young communities Enlightenment authors provided guidelines for imagining both 'us' and 'them': the indispensable antipode of the noble savages are the 'sword missionaries' who used religion to justify the cruel conquest of the crusades. In addition, stressing that medieval missionaries were sowing the

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der deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Russlands"', in *Vier deutschbaltische Künstler: Carl Siegismund Walther, Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell, August Georg Wilhelm Pezold, Gustav Adolf Hippius*, ed. Anne Lõugas (Tallinn, 1994), pp. 29–38 (here 31).

[23] HCL XVI.8, p. 112; Brundage, p. 132; cf. Job 15:26.

[24] Linda Kaljundi, *Waiting for the Barbarians: The Imagery, Dynamics and Functions of the Other in Northern German Missionary Chronicles, 11th–Early 13th Centuries. The* Gestae Hamaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum *of Adam of Bremen,* Chronica Slavorum *of Helmold of Bosau,* Chronica Slavorum *of Arnold of Lübeck, and* Chronicon Livoniae *of Henry of Livonia* (unpublished MA dissertation, Tartu University, 2005), pp. 183–6.

[25] See Anti Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus', *Vikerkaar* 10–11 (2003), 108–20 (here 110).

[26] Herder specifically addressed the Livonian crusades, blaming the Teutonic Order for wars and serfdom. See Johann G. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), p. 689. However, the authors of the Baltic Enlightenment also presented views that were less critical of the church. Hupel's version of the Livonian crusades (that also relies on Henry) is one such restrained and less emotional account. According to him, serfdom was not an immediate consequence of the crusades, but rather developed over a longer period. See Indrek Jürjo, *Aufklärung im Baltikum. Leben und Werk des livländischen Gelehrten August Wilhelm Hupel (1737–1819)* (Cologne, 2006).

papal faith also enabled the modern Lutheran church to distance itself from the burden of violent Christianization.

Descriptions of the Baltic *bons sauvages* were also influenced by New Worlds' wild men discourse. This supported the anti-slavery rhetoric, as many authors claimed that medieval conquerors had subjugated the Baltic indigenous population to a level similar to that of peoples in the African and American colonies. Such comparisons contributed to the legend of the 'discovery of the Baltic' by German merchants from Bremen who spontaneously arrived by ship in the twelfth century, mirroring the later Columbian finding of America. Merkel also used this motif, first appropriated by the early modern Livonian chroniclers: Johann Renner (1525–83), Balthasar Russow (1536–1600) and Franz Nyenstede (1540–1622). The legend was based on an interpolation of Henry's chronicle that Paul Johansen has dated to the years 1548–78.[27] In the Hannover manuscript (the basis of Gruber's edition) and several others, there stood a sentence in the final chapter referring to the year 1226 and stating that 'Many and glorious things happened in Livonia at the time when the heathen were converted to the faith of Jesus Christ during the past 67 years when the Bremen merchants first discovered the Livonian port ...'[28] Depending on the method of calculation, the 'discovery' was made either in the year 1159 or 1158.

To make a small excursion, it was only the discovery of the Zamoyski manuscript in 1862 that showed the story was groundless. However, the colonizing legend became a popular theme in nineteenth-century Baltic-German Romanticism and, not surprisingly, in Bremen. Peter Janssen (1844–1908), a German historical painter, made a mural painting for the Bremen neo-gothic bourse hall (*Neue Börse* (1864), destroyed in World War II), titled 'The Colonization of the Baltic Coast' (1872) that depicted Bremen's citizens as the founders of Riga. Janssen, in turn, relied on the Baltic-German artist Ludwig von Maydell (1795–1846) (see below). His engraving 'The First Landing of the Bremen Merchants on the Daugava' shows European merchants offering mirrors, colourful cloths and other small trade to the indigenous people, similar to the discourse on encounters with peoples of the New World (see Figure 17.1). The reuse of the discovery motif is a good example of how the ideological meaning can change in different contexts. While in Enlightenment circles it was used

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[27] Paul Johansen, 'Die Legende von der Aufsegelung Livlands durch Bremer Kaufleute', in *Europa und Übersee: Festschrift für Egmont Zechlin*, ed. Otto Brunner and Dietrich Gerhard (Hamburg, 1961), pp. 42–68.

[28] 'Multa quidem et gloriosa contigerunt in Livonia temprore conversionis gentium ad fidem Iesu Christi per annos LXVII. praeteritos, ex quibus primo inventus est a mercatoribus *Bremensibus* portus *Livonicus* ...', *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis*, ed. Johann Daniel Gruber, p. 177.

Figure 17.1 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Erste Landung der Bremer Kaufleute in der Düna. 1156' ('The First Landing of the Bremen Merchants on the Daugava. 1156'), in *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia

for criticizing colonization, in late nineteenth-century writing it was integrated into the legitimization narrative of the Baltic colonies. However, as previously indicated, the Baltic Enlightenment had its strongest impact on Estonian and Latvian nationalisms. To briefly summarize, Enlightenment heritages taught the young nationalists not just to conceptualize history, but also to understand it as a tool for social criticism and rivalry. Equally influential to national movements was the positive conceptualization of folk culture, which in the Baltics was also inspired by Herder. Next to establishing many canonical features of the ancient past and indigenous culture, the Enlightenment tradition also shaped the future appropriation of Henry's repertoire of events, characters, themes and motifs.

The Nineteenth-Century Nationalist Utopias

Henry's chronicle came into the limelight of historical debate in the era of romantic historicism and nationalism. As argued by Ann Rigney, this period picked up the Enlightenment interest in culture and antiquarianism and fed it into emergent nationalism with its interest in identity politics and folk culture.[29] One can speak of the encounter and conflict of at least two different traditions of re-using Henry: the Baltic-German and the Estonian/Latvian. This subchapter mainly focuses on the uses of Henry by the latter, discussing the chronicle's role in the narrative of the young Latvian and, especially, Estonian nations, as well as its appropriation in the various mediums of cultural memory.

One cannot examine the young nationalist histories, however, without the context of German Romanticism. The Romantic yearning for the past became attractive for the Baltic-Germans as a part of the *Kulturnationalismus* and later as part of the counter-reaction to Russification in the late nineteenth century (the nationalist politics of Imperial Russia that promoted assigning Russians to administrative positions, the use of the Russian language and the Orthodox church). In the Baltic provinces, the arrival of German Romanticism meant abandoning the Enlightenment critique of the past and the restoration of the Middle Ages' glory.[30] Indeed, in the nineteenth century, German history *was*

[29] Ann Rigney, *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (Ithaca and London, 2001), p. 8.

[30] See also Heinrich Bosse, 'Geschichtschreibung des baltischen Biedermeier', in *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Georg von Rauch (Cologne and Vienna, 1986), pp. 103–19; and Wilhelm Lenz, '"Alt-Livland" in der deutschbaltischen Geschichtschreibung, 1870–1918', in ibid., pp. 203–32. For the uses of history against Russification, see Irene Neander, 'Carl Schirren als Historiker', in ibid., pp. 175–202.

medieval history; the latter almost becoming the metonym for the nation.[31] The Middle Ages thus absorbed most of the energies of German historians. The period saw not only the professionalization of history, but also the establishing of the national canon of sources for identifying a specifically German past. In the Baltics, Romantic nationalism and professionalization went hand in hand, as fascination with the Middle Ages produced a wave of source publications. In this new canon, Henry's chronicle gained a prominent place for the first time in its history, though it remained 'relatively young in a historiographical sense', as Tiina Kala puts it.[32] However, now Henry's chronicle had found its way to various series of source editions that aimed to mark the historical identity of the Baltic-Germans. The first nineteenth-century edition of Henry's chronicle (with a facing German translation) was published in the series *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*.[33] Yet, in the age of *Quellenforschung*, the study of Henry's chronicle had its heyday when the *Codex Zamoscianus* was found in 1862. This discovery seemingly fulfilled the dream to reconstruct a text that was as close as possible to the lost original. After one more edition and German translation in 1874, the new reconstruction of the chronicle was published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series and accepted into the canon of the German past.[34]

The Baltic-German community also sought other ways of establishing continuity with the medieval past. Besides scholarly institutions, publications and source editions, it also included the restoration of medieval ruins and the spread of historicist architecture. These activities showed a desire to construct a common, durable and specific German past. Perhaps not surprisingly, 'built' medievalism is lacking in the tradition of the new nations, who contrasted themselves with medieval heritage and did not possess the resources for monumentalizing their version of the past.[35] Furthermore, their appropriations of the medieval period have never much used any visual arts: as the Estonian historian Ea Jansen has put it, the national historiography prefers to paint

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[31] Peter Fritzsche, 'The Archive', *History and Memory* 17 (2005), 15–44 (here 19–20).

[32] See Chapter 16 by Tiina Kala in this volume.

[33] *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis: Heinrich's des Letten älteste Chronik von Livland*, ed. and trans. August Heinrich Hansen, in *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, vol. I) (Riga and Leipzig, 1853).

[34] *Heinrici Chronicon Lyvoniae*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt (MGH rer. Germ. 23) (Hanover and Leipzig, 1874), pp. 231–332. Before that, in 1865 Carl Schirren had published *Der Codex Zamoscianus, enthaltend Capitel I–XXIII, 8 der Origines Livoniae* (Dorpat, 1865). Schirren's work was used for a German translation, *Heinrich's von Lettland Livländische Chronik*, trans. Eduard Pabst (Reval, 1867). For a detailed overview of the editing history, see Chapter 16 by Tiina Kala in this volume.

[35] See Linda Kaljundi, 'Muinasmaa sünd', *Vikerkaar* 8–9 (2008), 98–112.

its pictures with words.[36] The Baltic *Biedermeier*, however, included visual appropriations of the crusading past. The best-known illustrations of Henry's chronicle were made by Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell for his series of engravings 'Fifty Pictures from the German Baltic Provinces of Russia' (1839, 1842), which were influenced by German Romantic and *Biedermeier* artists.[37] Maydell's work illuminates the abandonment of Enlightenment critique of the Middle Ages and the rise of a Romantic cult of forefathers that lauds the crusaders' heroic spirit and devotion to higher ideals. Moreover, it also provides an interesting example of a new cultural translation of Henry's chronicle.

At a first viewing, the engravings seem to represent one of the most contradictory readings of Henry. The lyric and decorative images depict graceful and beautiful figures with a bourgeois cosiness, yet, at the same time praise the sword mission with violent *mise-en-scène*. The seeming contradiction can be explained from the *Kulturträger* perspective that presumed native barbarism. The artist had adopted the common belief that culture is not only righted but also obliged to fight barbarianism. According to Maydell the pillar of culture was the Christian religion and church. Thus, his binary interpretation and justification of the Livonian crusades came very close to Henry's version.[38] His engravings therefore oppose cruel and unwise heathens and laud pious and brave Christian knights and martyrs, thematize the conflict between culture and barbarianism, promote Christianity over paganism and serve to legitimize colonialism. Good examples of this approach are the images 'Theodoric in Danger of Becoming Sacrificed to Gods in 1192' and 'The Missionaries Hacking the Sacred Groves of the Estonians in 1220', which draw on scenes from Henry.[39] As most of Maydell's visualizations of the past are based on Henry's chronicle (to a lesser extent, he also used the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* and Thomas Hiärn's chronicle), the

[36] Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder ..."', pp. 32–3.

[37] Friderich Ludwig von Maydell, *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. I (Tartu, 1839), vol. II (Tartu, 1842). Maydell was especially influenced by the popular Adrian Ludwig Richter (1803–83), 'a painter of the German people', and Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeldt (1794–1872), a member of the Nazarene movement who had illustrated the *Niebelungenlied* and the Bible. Konrad Maier has even compared Maydell's series to Ludwig Richter's illustrations for Eduard Duller's *Die Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (Leipzig, 1840): see Konrad Maier, 'Rahvuskultuur eesti kunstis? 19. sajandi keskpaigast I maailmasõjani', in *Rahvuskultuur ja tema teised*, ed. Rein Undusk (Tallinn, 2008), pp. 151–73 (here 154).

[38] As argued in Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder ..."', pp. 33–8.

[39] 'Der Mönch Theodorich in Gefahr den Goetzen geopfert zu werden. A° 1192', 1839; 'Missionære hauen die Götzenbäume der Ehsten um A° 1220', 1842. See respectively HCL I.10, pp. 4–5, and HCL XXIV.5, p. 175. All Maydell's images referred to here are copperplate engravings.

Figure 17.2 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Wie der Sturm der Ehsten auf die lettische Burg Beverin abgeschlagen wird. Ad 1207' ('How the Storming of the Estonians Was Beaten Back at the Latvian Hillfort of Beverina. AD 1207'), in *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia

Figure 17.3 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Gefecht mit den Oesellschen Seeräubern. Ad 1202' ('A Fight with the Öselian Pirates. AD 1202'), in *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia

series sheds light on what the Romantics considered to be the most spectacular moments of Henry's narrative. Indeed, the advertisement annotation of the image series states that the artist had much trouble in choosing the scenes that would be both historically significant and picturesque.[40] Most of the engravings depict the founding moments of the colony and the course of conquest. Maydell has chosen either significant or dramatic and dynamic events from the chronicle, such as the siege of Beverin that also depicts the chronicler himself 'singing prayers to God on a musical instrument' (1208) (see Figure 17.2), a battle with the Öselian pirates who return from a raid to Blekinge (1203) (see Figure 17.3), or the siege of Dorpat (1224).[41] Next to these, Maydell also presents some of the more peaceful moments from colonial history: the 'discovery of Livonia' by the Bremen merchants (see Figure 17.1), Bishop Albert laying the first stone of Riga (1201), Theodoric presenting Caupo to Innocent III (1203), or the liturgical performance in Riga (1204).[42] Maydell also favoured baptism scenes that helped to stress the German role in transmitting culture. In the spirit of the forefathers' cult, the artist praised the great crusading heroes and especially Bishop Albert. He also sympathized with Caupo, the Livish chieftain who allied with the German crusaders and was presented by Henry as a model of a faithful convert (also discussed below).

In an indication that the reading of Henry at those times was not clearly polarized, Maydell's illustrations of the chronicle were also used for Estonian-language popular histories. For example, a peasants' calendar (1861–62) published four of Maydell's engravings that depicted chronicle scenes and showed the colonizer (and not the colonized) in a favourable light.[43] Moreover, during the Baltic *Biedermeier* the Enlightenment view on indigenous culture did not entirely disappear. Romanticism and Herderianism produced not only an idealization of the German forefathers, but also a curiosity towards the ancient past and folk culture of the natives, which became the object of study for

[40] Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder …"', p. 30.

[41] 'Wie der Sturm der Ehsten auf die lettische Burg Beverin abgeschlagen wird. Ad 1207' (sic) (1839); 'Gefecht mit den Oesellschen Seeräubern. Ad 1202' (sic) (1839); 'Belagerung und Erstürmung Dorpats A° 1223' (1842). For the siege of Beverin, see HCL XII.6, pp. 63–4; Brundage, pp. 84–6 (here 85). For the naval battle with the Öselians, see HCL VII.2, pp. 19–20. For the siege of Dorpat, see HCL XXVIII.5–6, pp. 202–5. Next to German victories, Maydell also depicted the victory of the Danes in Reval in 1219.

[42] For the founding of Riga, see HCL V.1, p. 15; for Caupo's visit to the pope, see HCL VII.3, pp. 20–21; and for the liturgical *ludus magnus*, see HCL IX.14, p. 32.

[43] 'Kuidas rahvas meie Maal risti-ussuliseks sanud', in *Ma-rahwa kassuline Kalender* (Tartu, 1861–62).

Estophiles. Tellingly, next to his visualizations of the barbarianism of the natives' ancient culture, Maydell also illustrated Estonian folktales.[44]

While Maydell's series was a significant attempt to use the positive conceptualization of the medieval past – and Henry's chronicle in particular – for creating a Baltic-German identity, the reception of his work was not too enthusiastic and the series remained unfinished.[45] Yet, due to a lack of visualizations of the crusades, Maydell's images are used to this date, often in ideologically opposite contexts: for example, in Estonian school history textbooks that proclaim a completely different view of the crusades to Maydell.[46]

This alternative view of the crusades relates to the rise of young nations, a phenomenon by no means uncommon in the nineteenth century.[47] From the 1850s on, new nationalist movements in the Baltic region were backed not only by the general rise of nationalism in Europe, but also by the bettering of the legal and socio-economic situation of the local peasantry. Also capitalizing on increasing literacy rates, the spread of print-Estonian and Latvian, and the growth of a small but energetic intelligentsia supported nationalist sentiment. Similarly with such national revivals, the use of history played a crucial role in nation building. It was during this period that the core structure of Latvian and Estonian national historical writing was established. Even if the turning of Henry's pagan barbarians into noble savages and noble crusaders into brute barbarians had its roots in Enlightenment tradition, these ideas were adapted by, and for, a new kind of historical narrative.[48] As argued by Benedict Anderson, the Enlightenment clearly had a powerful impact, above all in providing an

[44] Maydell illustrated Estonian folktales by the well-known Estophile Friedrich Robert Faehlmann, such as 'The Song of Vanemuine' and 'Dawn and Twilight', and also belonged to the Learned Estonian Society (Ger. *Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft*). See also Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder ..."', p. 33.

[45] Due to the small number of subscribers, Maydell managed to publish only 22 images instead of the 50 engravings he initially planned.

[46] See, for instance, Mait Kõiv and Priit Raudkivi, *Keskaeg. Ajalooõpik 7. klassile*, vol. 2 (Tallinn, 2004), pp. 106, 109.

[47] For a brief introduction, see Toivo U. Raun, 'Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Estonian Nationalism Revisited', *Nations and Nationalism* 9 (2003), 129–47.

[48] For an overview of the Estonian historical consciousness, see Ants Viires, 'Eestlaste ajalooteadvus 18.–19. sajandil', *Tuna* 3 (2001), 20–36. The impact of Merkel's ideas on the making of Estonian national history is discussed in Undusk, 'Kolm võimalust kirjutada eestlaste ajalugu'. See also Undusk, '"Wechsel und Wiederkehr" als Prinzipien des Weltgeschehens: Zu Merkels Geschichtsideologie', in *'Ich werde gewiß große Energie zeigen.' Garlieb Merkel (1769–1850) als Kämpfer, Kritiker und Projektmacher in Berlin und Riga*, ed. Jörg Drews (Bielefeld, 2000), pp. 133–47. Merkel's *Die Vorzeit Lieflands* was translated into Estonian slightly later, in 1909.

arsenal of ideological criticism of imperial and *ancien régime*s, but 'it did not create in itself the kind, or shape, of imagined community for the objects of its admiration or disgust'.[49] In Latvia and Estonia, as elsewhere, local activists played the decisive role in accomplishing this task. In their narrative, the Middle Ages became just as central as in the Enlightenment and Baltic-German version of the past.[50]

As the birth of Latvian and Estonian histories coincided with the rise of Henry's chronicle, it was natural that this work would become the *Ur*-text for national narratives. One could even conclude that with the emergence of nationalism, Estonian and Latvian history writing has been producing cultural translations of the chronicle. The following section discusses how their narratives, archetypes for victories and losses, images for heroes, enemies and traitors, have developed a vivid, yet tense dialogue with Henry's chronicle. In examining Henry's role in the new traditions, however, one should consider a few significant aspects. The construction of national histories was born not of concord with this text, but rather out of conflict, discomfort and disagreement. For the young nations, Henry's mentioning of the Latvians and Estonians enabled them to enter into the realm of written history. The crusading chronicle, however, also became a source for constructing a national tragedy narrative. Hence entering written history is closely associated with the loss of ancient paradise. One should also take into account that in the beginning, young nationalists possessed little funding and could not rely upon elite circles to invent and establish their traditions. Drawing on the model put forth by the Czech scholar, Miroslav Hroch, they remained in the position of 'non-dominant ethnic groups' and lacked the features of a fully formed nation: political autonomy, standardized language for expressing forms of high culture and an established class structure. As the tradition of a state was lacking, national revival was based to a great extent upon ethnographic heritage and folklore.[51] Therefore national histories also had to rely on imaginary sphere, primarily using fictive, vocal and performed mediums.

[49] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 65.

[50] For an overview of the crusading narrative in the Estonian historiography, see Sulev Vahtre, *Muinasaja loojang Eestis. Vabadusvõitlus 1208–1227* (Tallinn, 1990), pp. 23–46; Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus'; and in the Latvian historiography, see Kaspars Kļaviņš, 'Die Interpretationen des Mittelalters in Lettland während des nationalen Erwachens der Letten', *Baltica: Die Vierteljahresschrift für Baltische Kultur* 3 (2000), 10–21; Kaspars Kļaviņš, 'Die Idee des Mittelalters als Beispiel des wechselnden Wertesystems in Lettland während des 20. Jahrhunderts', *Baltica: Die Vierteljahresschrift für Baltische Kultur* 1 (2001), 17–26.

[51] Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations* (New York, 2000).

To the Estonian-speaking audience, history was first introduced in eighteenth-century calendars.[52] The same century also introduced medieval history, as the preface to the first Estonian Bible translation (1739) gave an overview of the advent of the Christian faith to the Estonians. It emphasized the piety and peaceful aims of Bishop Meinhard, blamed his successors for the violent mission that distanced the people from Christian faith and, as one might expect from a Lutheran Bible, praised only the Reformation as having brought the light of faith to the people.[53] This continued the tradition already established by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheran chroniclers (Balthasar Russow and others). The first manifest construction of Estonian history, however, was the national epic *Kalevipoeg* ('Kalev's Son') (1853/62) by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–82), a writer and a leading figure of the nationalist movement. It is a tale about the waning of a golden age that ends with the arrival of 'iron men' on Estonian shores and thus provides an allegory of crusade. Even more explicit references to the crusades can be found in the Latvian national epic poem *Lāčplēsis* ('Bear-slayer') (1888) by Andrejs Pumpurs (1841–1902), a poet and prominent figure in the Young Latvia movement. *Lāčplēsis* is a Romantic adventure tale comprised of fashionable ethnography and several elements from Henry's chronicle, such as even the figure of Henry himself (see below). Both epics longed for a 'golden age' and stressed the violence of conquest – and these features also remained central to the traditions of the national historical writing established in the mid nineteenth century.

It was Carl Robert Jakobson (1841–82), leader of a group of more radical nationalists, who formulated the core of the Estonian narrative.[54] In his so-called 'First Fatherland Speech' (1868), titled 'The Ages of Light, Darkness and Dawn of the Estonian People', Jakobson established the traditional structure of Estonian history. He divided it into three periods: the light of ancient freedom, the darkness of slavery and the present age of dawn, following the trope according to which, in Europe, the new nationalisms began to imagine themselves as

[52] See Endel Annus, *Eesti kalendrikirjandus 1720–1900* (Tallinn, 2000).

[53] The author of the preface was likely Anton Thor Helle (1683–1748), a translator of the Bible, clergyman and linguist. As the same preface was used in all the prints of the Estonian-language Bible until the early twentieth century (altogether tens of thousands of copies), its impact on the popular historical consciousness can hardly be overestimated. See Viires, 'Eestlaste ajalooteadvus', p. 24.

[54] Carl Robert Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, ed. Rudolf Põldmäe (Tallinn, 1991). Of great importance in the representation of the crusades was the first volume of his school textbook *Kooli lugemise raamat* (Tartu, 1867) that enjoyed 15 editions during its publication run.

'awakening from sleep'.[55] For Estonian-language history, Jakobson's militant tone marked a significant change, especially when compared to the earlier Lutheran calendar histories that called on their readers for piety and obedience. Even though Jakobson's narrative derives from the Enlightenment, now the *sauvages* were the subject and not the object of inquiry. Nationalist historians identified with Henry's 'ferocious heathens' and aimed to write the historical narrative from the perspective of these fierce men.

Establishing the young nations as historical agents was closely bound to affirming that the Estonians and Latvians (who at that time held a low social status in the Baltic provinces of the Russian empire) were ancient *Kulturnationen*. Showing that he had learned his Merkel, Jakobson argued that '[the ancient times] show us the Estonian people in a spirit so high, as we see it only amongst the most highly educated ancient peoples'.[56] In the process of elevating the Estonian past with that of the ancients, Henry gained a central place. Indeed, Jakobson's speech was subtitled 'Notes from the Old Books of Time' and the author eagerly refers to the chronicle of 'Henry the Latvian'. So, in creating the image of ancient Estonians, Jakobson undertook what we might call a nationalist translation of Henry's chronicle and established the central traits of a future Estonian re-reading of this text. As in the Enlightenment interpretation, Henry's positive signs were turned into negative, and vice versa: the light of the true faith became the night of slavery, and the darkness of heathenism the golden light of the ancient paradise, the pious crusaders the cruel conquerors, and the savage barbarians the noble heroes. Still, some elements of the chronicle were adopted almost in their entirety. These include the bellicosity of the ancient Estonians. Relying on Henry's image of the warlike pagans, Jakobson emphasized the military and masculine values of his people. Yet, he also stressed orderliness, which is something not associated with the pagans in medieval texts: the organization of space (Jakobson gives lengthy descriptions of the ancient system of hillforts), as well as a social and spiritual order (by pointing, for example, to a rather clear-cut pantheon of gods). Jakobson reveals his aims in the summation of his re-interpretation of the chronicle: 'that much we can at least learn from [Henry's] letters that the Estonian people had their own priests

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[55] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 195.

[56] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 17. Other nationalists also used comparison to the Greeks, commonplace during the Enlightenment. For instance, Jakob Hurt argued that: 'In their heroic spirit and love for one's fatherland the ancient Estonians do not lack behind the ancient Greeks and Romans.' Jakob Hurt, *Pildid isamaa sündinud asjust* (Tartu, 1879), p. 71. Hurt was a pastor and a leader of the moderate nationalists. His *Pildid isamaa sündinud asjust* was another popular and influential history book, presenting, however, a slightly more balanced critical assessment of the crusades.

and temples, and that they had their own kings or elders ruling over them, who lived in secure strongholds.'[57]

Jakobson and nationalist writing in general also referenced Henry's meagre representations of Estonian paganism as a worship of sacred groves, mixing them with Romantic constructions such as the mythologies by Friedrich Robert Faehlmann (1798–1850), an influential Estophile and folklore enthusiast. While these ideas hearken to Enlightenment enthusiasm towards ancient religion, they differ considerably from the calendar histories that judged paganism negatively. As in earlier times, in the nationalist imagery Henry's mention of *Tharapita* played a key role in constructing the ancient pantheon, remaining one of the chronicle's main contributions to Estonian historical Romanticism. In the period when these mythologies proliferated, Faehlmann's *Estonian Folktales* (1840), Kreutzwald's national epic *Kalevipoeg*, as well as his other folk poems, all served to contribute towards the Estonian image of *Taara* as it came to be comprised in national Romantic historicism (and is still known today).[58] There were also attempts to establish a link between the chronicle and oral heritage, though it is now known that the few Taara poems which folklore collectors reported at the time were fabrications.[59]

Equally important for national history were the images of antagonists: the crusaders, Catholic clerics and, especially, the Sword Brethren.[60] The narrative of 'our paradise', as Jakobson calls it,[61] was constructed hand-in-hand with that of the bloody crusades and sword mission. These were likewise profoundly influenced by Merkel's and other kindred authors' conceptualization of the Middle Ages as a 'dark age'. As excerpts from Henry's chronicle were often used to confirm the cruelty of conquest, one could also speak about a certain transfer of violence from the medieval contexts to modernity. Similarly to the majority of crusading chronicles, Henry's text represents an environment of abundant violence that has been used to create analogies with biblical histories. In the nineteenth century, however, these depictions gained a wholly different meaning due to

[57] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 19.

[58] Still interpreting *Tharapita* as a war cry, Faehlmann and Kreutzwald established *Taara* as the name of the god. Nevertheless, this version was chosen from among several alternatives, such as *Thor* (the above-discussed link to the Scandinavian pantheon remained prominent), *Toor(o)*, or *Taar*. For the genesis of Taara in the writings of Estophiles, see Viires, 'Taara avita!', pp. 52–6.

[59] Viires, 'Taara avita!', p. 54.

[60] Cf. Juhan Kreem, 'The Teutonic Order in Livonia: Diverging Historiographical Traditions', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 467–80.

[61] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 10.

different sensibilities, representational needs and contexts. Jakobson's speech illustrates the uses of medieval violence towards modern aims: during Bishop Albert's reign 'there almost did not pass a year when people's blood would not have bled like creeks of water'.[62] Another strategy of the national history was the claim of the hypocrisy of the mission, a trend already seen in both Reformation and Enlightenment critique. Again Henry's chronicle was useful in establishing this connection, especially in his account of the Rigan and Danish rivalry in northern Estonia during the 1220s.[63] In national cultural memory, Henry's rather problematic representation of this ritual rivalry has been taken on face value and become known as 'the baptism competition'. The negative views of the medieval church can be explained in that several leading national activists had been trained as Lutheran pastors. They were well versed in the Lutheran and Enlightenment critique of the Middle Ages and applied this knowledge to mitigate the fact that the ancient Estonian pagans whom they identified as their forefathers had actually fought against Christianity. The seeming contradiction was overcome by stressing that these figures had revolted against the papal faith, a doctrine considered even more harmful than original paganism.[64]

As the national discourse had therefore arrived at the opposite of what Henry had been striving for, this explains its tense relationship with the chronicle. The founders of Estonian and Latvian national histories who established the relationship between the old texts and the young nations also developed an opposition towards 'other' and 'our' sources. Not only were historical agents divided between 'us' and the 'other', but also documents written in 'alien' languages (Latin, Low-German, and so on) were considered as manifestations of an 'alien' spirit. With the existence of only 'alien' texts telling 'us' about 'our' ancient history, this vacuum helped to inspire the creation of an archive of 'our own' sources: the collection of folklore and archaeological heritage that spread rapidly in the late nineteenth century. Jakob Hurt (1839–1907), the propagator of this movement, tellingly proclaimed that the Baltic chronicles revealed only

[62] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 24.

[63] HCL XXIV.2; Brundage, p. 189; HCL XXIV.5; Brundage, p. 193. After the Danes had established themselves in northern Estonia (1219) and many of the Estonians accepted Christianity from them, rivalry over the ecclesiastical rule of the region grew serious. Henry takes part in this quarrel, presenting the Danes as having performed their mission in an unorthodox manner. It is a good example of the value of (arguably) unorthodox rituals. See Linda Kaljundi, '(Re)Performing the Past: Crusading, History Writing and Rituals in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia', in *The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds: Uncanonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature*, ed. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Lars Boje Mortensen (Turnhout, forthcoming).

[64] A good example of this approach is Hurt, *Pildid isamaa sündinud asjust*.

the outer history of the Estonian people, while the inner history still needed to be discovered from the 'living source' of folklore. To support this argument, he published several collections of folk poems under the title *Monumenta Estoniae antiquae*.[65] Similar ideas supported the revival of popular culture in Latvia, notably the collection of folk songs by Krišjānis Barons (1835–1923), a writer, folklorist and leading national activist.[66]

Though this environment had opened up alternatives for the constructions of ancient past, it served to delegitimize 'alien' documents (such as Henry's chronicle). This is reflected in the lamentations about the lack and, at the same time, unreliability of written sources about the ancient period. Carl Robert Jakobson states that: '[t]hese times stand too far from us so that we could get a full picture of Estonian people's laws and customs at that time. ... Of men of our people only Henry the Latvian tells us, who was yet brought up in Germany and looked at many things through different glasses than we would have liked.'[67] Hence, next to the joy over finding a historical narrative of ancient times and the eagerness to learn more about 'our' past, there also looms a hesitant and distrustful attitude towards the chronicle and its author.

Nevertheless, disagreement with Henry's version of the past did not mean neglecting the chronicle. Rather, the rise of the Estonian, as well as Latvian, national histories brought along a boom in the chronicle's appropriations. This included the translation of the text into Estonian and Latvian when the young nations adopted source publications as a medium of cultural memory – even though they did it at a less demanding scholarly level. The Estonian translation was made by a leading figure in the national heritage movement and popular history, Jaan Jung (1835–1900) and published in 1881–84.[68] The first Latvian translation appeared in 1883 and was made by the historian and ethnographer Matīss Siliņš (1861–1942),[69] suggesting the chronicle's growing relevance.

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[65] Cf. Undusk, 'Kolm võimalust kirjutada eestlaste ajalugu', pp. 807–10. For Jakob Hurt's collections of folklore, see *Vana kannel*, vols 1–2 (Tartu, 1875–86) and *Setukeste laulud* (Helsinki, 1904–07).

[66] Krišjānis Barons's opus magnum is the six-volume collection of Latvian folklore *Latvju dainas* (vol. 1, Jelgava, 1894, vols 2–6, St Petersburg, 1903–15) that contains 217,996 songs.

[67] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 19.

[68] *Läti Hendriku Liiwi maa kroonika ehk Aja raamat*, 4 vols, trans. Jaan Jung (Tartu, 1881–83). Tellingly, in the preface Jung admits: 'I have had more trouble in writing this book than one could judge from its appearance.' Jaan Jung, 'Eessöna', in *Läti Hendriku Liiwi maa kroonika*, vol. 1, p. 5. Initially, he had translated the chronicle from the German version, but due to pressure from the publisher, he had to undertake a new translation from Latin – even though his meagre knowledge of Latin likely necessitated a great reliance on the German.

[69] *Latviešu Indrika kronika*, trans. Matīss Siliņš (Riga, 1883).

'Let this small book go and proclaim with its feeble words to the beloved Estonian people their oldest known history,' Jung proclaims with considerable enthusiasm in the preface.[70] The chronicle's wide-scale acceptance, however, did not proceed as easily as Jung had wished. In fact, the task of translating Henry for the Estonian and Latvian audiences continued to include more than merely linguistic problems.

By the late nineteenth century, historical *belles-lettres* had become the key medium for presenting history to the wider audience. In the case of young nations, the particular attraction of the Walter Scott style of historical fiction seems to lie not only in the coherent account of events and the possibility for identification, but also in 'a promise of another historical narrative'.[71] Moreover, these novels could be examined as kinds of 'imperfect histories', a term Ann Rigney has coined, relying on Foucauldian scarcity principle. Here historical fiction may play a role as (an imperfect) history for those who, by choice or necessity, do not have access to alternative accounts.[72] In the Estonian case, the landmark stories of Eduard Bornhöhe (1862–1923) dealt not with the crusades, but with the so-called St George's Night Uprising (1343–45) and drew on later chroniclers, such as Balthasar Russow and Christian Kelch. The uprising gained meaning and symbolic significance only as the continuation of the struggle against the German conquerors that had been lost during the crusades.[73] Amongst the authors who sought to follow Bornhöhe's lead, Andres Saal (1861–1931) contributed greatly to the narrative and imagery of the crusading period.[74] For verifying the adventures of his fictional heroes, Saal re-evoked many of scenes, characters and *topoi* from Henry's chronicle and so paved their way into the story-world of Estonian historical fiction. Saal's novels also remarkably popularized the image of the *Taara* religion. Departing from

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[70] Jung, 'Eessöna', p. 6.

[71] Rigney, *Imperfect Histories*, p. 53.

[72] Rigney, *Imperfect Histories*, pp. 54–5.

[73] Eduard Bornhöhe, *Tasuja* ('The Avenger') (1880) and *Villu võitlused* ('The Battles of Villu') (1890). In the later cultural memory, Bornhöhe's fictive protagonist, 'The Avenger' (Est. Tasuja, or Jaanus) has sometimes been portrayed as seizing the mantle of national hero from Henry's chronicle's Lembitu. The novel also has a few indirect borrowings from Henry's chronicle in depicting the ancient Estonians: in one place the dog of the antagonist, a young German baron, is called 'Tarapita' for mocking the local culture.

[74] Saal's most influential historical novels were: *Wambola: Jutustus wanast Eesti ajaloost (1209–1212)* (Tartu, 1889); *Aita: jutustus Liiwi ja Eestirahwa wabaduse wõitlusest 12. aastasaja lõpul* (Tallinn, 1892); *Leili, üks pagana naine: Jutustus Liiwirahwa wabaduse wõitlusest 13. aastasaja algul* (Paide, 1892–93). He also published a two-volume history book, *Päris ja prii*, in which the first volume, *Eesti rahva pärisorjuse ajalugu 1215–1819* (Rakvere, 1891) focused mainly on the crusades.

the spirit of revenge that proliferates Bornhöhe's work, Saal's writing presents melancholic and sentimental stories about the loss of ancient paradise.

Historical novels represent national imagination at work, and are thus best understood against a backdrop of the contemporary society of their author.[75] The overwhelming representation of the medieval period as a struggle against the Germans corresponded well with the situation in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Estonia and Latvia. Historical fiction also projected upon the past an image of a national community with markedly peasant characteristics, that likewise matched the contemporary experiences of its readership. However, early historical fiction also created a pantheon of ancient heroes and nobility. Amongst these, the natives mentioned by Henry gained a prominent place and could be located in many period novels to affirm the deeds of fictive characters. Saal's novels illustrate this tendency particularly well. In addition, the Enlightenment heritage contributed to this story-world. A good example of this is Garlieb Merkel's tale *Wannem Ymanta* (1802) with its protagonist, the Livish chieftain Ymanta.[76]

All these ancient heroes, including characters from Henry's chronicle who had been reanimated during the nationalist movement, found great momentum during the Estonian and Latvian War of Independence (both 1918–20), which followed World War I, the collapse of the Russian Empire and the Russian Civil War. These wars were fought against not only the Soviet Red Army, but also the German *Landeswehr*, and thus the analogies to crusade ideally suited a propaganda need. The 'Red' side also drew upon ancient heroes. For example, during the Russian Civil War, one group of Red Latvian soldiers formed a 'Regiment of Ymanta'. Such appropriations, however, were more prominent on the White side. In Estonian military ideology, Lembitu became the central ancient hero and his name was bestowed upon a gunboat and armoured car. In Henry's chronicle, Lembitu is presented as the most powerful Estonian chieftain who was based in Saccala. The chronicler mentions him eight times, more than any other Estonian.[77] The rise of Lembitu within Estonian cultural memory had only begun to originate in the late nineteenth century. Though the first nationalist historians had also mentioned him, it is only with the

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[75] See Miroslav Hroch, 'Historical Belles-lettres as a Vehicle of the Image of National History', in *National History and Identity: Approaches to the Writing of National History in the North-East Baltic Region, 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Michael Branch (Helsinki, 1999), pp. 97–110 (here 100–101).

[76] Garlieb Helwig Merkel, *Wannem Ymanta: Eine lettische Sage* (Leipzig, 1802).

[77] In Henry's chronicle, Lembitu is mentioned in HCL XIV.12, p. 86, XV.7, p. 94, XV.9, p. 99, XV.10, p. 100, XVIII.7, p. 120, XIX.1, p. 122, XXI.2–3, pp. 141–3, XXV.2, p. 180.

Figure 17.4 A monument of Lembitu in Suure-Jaani (Estonia). Sculptor: Amandus Adamson. Bronze. 1926 © Estonian Film Archives

novelists that Lembitu was reimagined as a symbolic figure. Even after the War of Independence, several war machines (for instance, a submarine) were named *Lembit(u)* and his image continued to be held up as the national and masculine ideal, as well as an important model for the soldiers of the new state's army.[78] While hardly any monuments to the crusades in Estonia and Latvia were produced during the interwar period, an exception was the re-use of the ancient heroes on the monuments erected to honour the War of Independence. In 1926, a figure of Lembitu was used for one such monument erected in Suure-Jaani (see Figure 17.4). This town is located next to the Lõhavere hillfort, which is believed to be 'the fort of Lembit, which is called Leole' mentioned in Henry's chronicle.[79] Also the Freedom Monument in Riga (1935, sculptor Kārlis Zāle [1888–1942]), which commemorates the soldiers killed during the War of Independence, depicts on its relief *Guards of the Fatherland* an ancient Latvian warrior who stands between two kneeling modern soldiers. Once more, this leads us to the functionality of the ancient past in promoting identity within new states.

[78] For the uses of Lembitu as a military role model, see Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus', pp. 112–13.

[79] HCL XVIII.7, p. 120; Brundage, p. 139.

Independent and Soviet Histories

The founding of the Estonian and Latvian states brought along changes in the crusading narrative and its memory at all policy levels of official nationalism. This affected education, the writing of history, militarism, propaganda and other affirmations of national identity. After 1934, when Konstantin Päts (1874–1956) and Kārlis Ulmanis (1877–1942) established authoritarian regimes in Estonia and Latvia, state-managed nationalism produced conservative policies that were adapted from the popular nationalism that had preceded them. Anti Selart has pointed to a change in the meaning of the 'ancient fight for freedom'. First its goal was argued to have been the abolishment of serfdom, but it gradually became linked with a desire for political independence.[80] Along with this development, the concept of ancient independent states was born as the new states sought to claim ownership of their heritage. The first use of this strategy can be seen as early as in their successive declarations of independence.[81] In both countries the narratives of the lost war against the crusaders (re-christened 'the ancient fight for freedom', Est. *muistne vabadusvõitlus*) and the victorious War of Independence (literally 'Freedom War', Est. *Vabadussõda*, Latv. *Latvijas brīvības cīņas*) were bound together.[82] The Latvian silent film *Lāčplēsis* (1930, directed by Aleksandrs Rusteiķis) visualizes the amalgamation well: while its opening scene presents motives and characters from the epic, its following scenes depict the 1905 revolution, World War I and the War of Independence all as part of the same fight.[83]

[80] Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus', p. 110.

[81] For a brief analysis of the use of history in the 'birth certificates' of the first Estonian republic, see Sulev Vahtre, 'Die Geschichtschreibung und die Historiker in Estland in den Kritischen Jahren 1918/1919 und 1987/1989', JBS 25/2 (1994), 147–52.

[82] Karsten Brüggemann, 'Estnische Erinnerungsorte: Die Schlacht von Wenden gegen die Baltische Landeswehr im Juni 1919 als Höhepunkt der nationalen Geschichte', *Eurozine* (2004), online at: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2004-03-09-brueggemann-de.html> (6 June 2010). In the Estonian case, a good example of this is the official history of the War of Independence that starts with a brief introduction and images about 'the ancient independence and fight for freedom': see *Eesti Vabadussõda 1918–1920*, vol. 1 (Tallinn, 1937), pp. 11–14. Even though the concept of a 'fight for freedom' had been used in describing the crusading period by the early twentieth century, the term 'ancient war for freedom' became commonplace only after 1920. For its genesis, see Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus', pp. 112–14.

[83] Stefan Donecker, 'Collective Memory and Historical Myths in Latvian Cinema: The Silent Movie Lacplesis (1930)', in *Transformationsprozesse im Ostseeraum und die osteuropäische Erfahrung*, ed. Imbi Sooman (Vienna, 2005).

As argued by the Latvian historian Ilgvars Misāns, while Latvian national history was focused on the crusades, what interested the historians most were the Latvian warriors and their continuous fight against foreign conquerors from the medieval period on. Differing from the Estonian case, in Latvia the first stage of the ancient fight for freedom did not end with Henry's chronicle (1227). Rather, the Latvians have often been identified with the Semgallians who resisted the Teutonic Order until the 1290s. Due to the confrontation with Baltic-Germans, the studies into the crusades inspired large public interest whilst simultaneously binding it tightly with nationalist-Romantic wishful thinking.[84] During the interwar period, one of the few voices that differed from this imbalanced approach was Vilis Biļķins (1887–1974), a student of Leonid Arbusow Jr and a scholar of Henry's chronicle.[85]

In the Estonian case, the concept of an 'eternal fight for freedom' was to become the trigger for the historical narrative as a whole. According to the discourse, the fight to regain the freedom lost to the crusaders continued with the rebellion of St George's Night, the modern 'peasant wars', and was only to be realized with the War of Independence and the founding of a modern nation state.[86] Stressing that the ancient war was a first step in what was to be a long and eventually victorious national fight against foreign invasion also enabled coming to terms with the fact that the catalysing event in Estonian national history was a lost war. The crusades became symbolically associated with heroic resistance rather than defeat. This reimaging was well suited for the nationalist-pedagogical need of the late 1930s. A leading historian of the period, Hans Kruus (1891–1976), monumentalized this interpretation in a three-volume *Estonian History* (1935–40), of which he was chief editor. In these volumes 'the ancient fight for freedom' is put into the service of present national interests and presented as an everlasting source of national pride that 'lasts as long as the Estonian nation lives and fights'.[87]

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[84] Ilgvars Misāns, '"Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk" Die darstellung der ostbaltischen Kreuzzüge in der lettischen Geschichtschreibung', in *Lippe und Livland: Mittelalterliche Herrschaftsbildung im Zeichen der Rose*, ed. Jutta Prieur (Bielefeld, 2008), pp. 185–207, esp. 187–91.

[85] Differently from other national histories, in his main study, *Die Spuren von Vulgata, Brevier und Missale in der Sprache von Heinrichs Chronikon Livoniae* (Riga, 1928), and in his other works on Henry's chronicle, Vilis Biļķins places emphasis on the religious motivation of the crusaders.

[86] For an analysis of the 'eternal fight for freedom' as a narrative template, see Marek Tamm, 'History as Cultural Memory: Mnemohistory and the Construction of the Estonian Nation', JBS 39/4 (2008), 499–516.

[87] *Eesti ajalugu I: Esiajalugu ja muistne vabadusvõitlus*, ed. Hans Kruus and Harri Moora (Tartu, 1935), p. 376. For an introduction to Hans Kruus's views, see Sirje Kivimäe

The prominence of crusading granted Henry's chronicle a visible role in the national history. Yet, the making of an ancient Estonian proto-state and equating the crusades with modern politics (as a proto-aggression) also meant another round of rather radical rereadings of his chronicle. The most colourful examples of this are the writings of the Estonian public intellectual and psychiatrist Juhan Luiga (1873–1927), especially his lengthy 'Critique of Henry the Latvian's Chronicle'.[88] In it he argues that the present version of Henry's chronicle radically differs from the original, being full of alterations and interpolations. According to Luiga, Henry wrote the chronicle for Bishop Albert of Riga (1199–1229), but when Albert died, the Order intervened and had it rewritten as it suited them better.[89] Moreover, he suggests that there existed an earlier missionary chronicle, which he calls the 'Chronicle of Theodoric'. Though Luiga's approach was more extreme than those of the mainstream, the ideas he presented were not unique. Rather, they vocalized a yearning typical to Estonian cultural memory, that of the need for another historical narrative. His article seeks to fulfil two dreams: first, that the preserved chronicles would be exposed as forgery, and second, that there could be found some other, previously unknown chronicle or document, that could falsify the existing narrative. The article introduces numerous interpolations which Luiga believes to have discovered that, according to him, give the chronicle 'a misleading tone and our history an unreal shape'.[90] In so doing, he argues, they stress the barbarity of the Estonians and cover up their attempts to establish peace in the region. Luiga's aims, as well as the anxieties and dreams related to ancient Estonia that he seeks to redress, are revealed well in the following: '[I]f we leave aside the chronicle's interpolations, Estonian statehood reveals itself much more complete, developed to a quite high level, Estonian foreign policy shows much more planning, system and the relationship to the neighbours is much more "civilised", natural, humane.'[91] Even

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and Jüri Kivimäe, 'Hans Kruus und die deutsch-estnische Kontroverse', in *Zwischen Konfrontation und Kompromiss*, ed. Michael Garleff (Munich, 1995), pp. 155–70.

[88] Juhan Luiga, 'Läti Hendriku kroonika kriitika', *Eesti Kirjandus* 4 (1922), 127–39; 5 (1922), 145–60; 6 (1922), 193–202; 7 (1922), 217–28; 9 (1922), 289–309; 12 (1922), 385–407; 1 (1923), 19–37; 2 (1923), 63–72; 4 (1923), 151–7; 5–6 (1923), 211–43; 11 (1923), 495–530; 10 (1926), 481–515.

[89] Similarly, Luiga argued that the Teutonic Order had changed the accounts of the St George's Night Uprising (1343–45). See his *Eesti vabadusvõitlus 1343–1345: Harju mäss* (Tallinn, 1924).

[90] Luiga, 'Läti Hendriku kroonika kriitika', *Eesti Kirjandus* 4 (1922), p. 133.

[91] Luiga, 'Läti Hendriku kroonika kriitika', *Eesti Kirjandus* 9 (1922), p. 289. Luiga was especially fascinated with Lembitu and argued against Henry's representation in his 'Lembitu välispoliitika', *Eesti Kirjandus* 8 (1921), 9 (1921), 10 (1921), 11 (1921), and 'Lembitus Wytamas', *Eesti Kirjandus* 1 (1921).

the defeat of the Estonians Luiga explains as a society being ahead of their time, as their democratic 'people's government' was destroyed by the more aggressive (and pre-modern) feudal system.

Indeed, an important element for the image of an Estonian proto-state was the idea of 'ancient democracy'. To augment this description, Henry's mention of the meeting in Raikküla (see above) continued to be widely appropriated. An especially ardent propagator of Raikküla as a proto-parliament was Jüri Uluots (1890–1945), an Estonian statesman, legal historian and theorist who advanced notions of the historical continuity of the Estonian republic as an heir of the ancient Estonia.[92] Interestingly, in Latvia an opposite trend can be identified. Unlike the Estonian interpretation emphasizing the egalitarianism of the ancient society, Latvian historians and archaeologists, such as Francis Balodis (1882–1947), strove to find traces of the ancient nobility.[93] The quest for the Lettgallian, Semgallian, and Curonian nobility and kings drew on Henry's use of terms such as *rex*.[94] This helped to inspire ideas about the Lettgallian/Latvian kingdom of Gerzike (Latv. Jersika). Visvaldis (Vissewalde, Vsevolod), called the king of Gerzike by Henry, gained a prominent place in the national pantheon.[95] In the Soviet period the interpretations became unified, as it was argued that the formation of early feudalism existed all over the Late Iron Age Baltics. Today the Latvian and Estonian visions again suggest exactly the opposite: in Estonia the egalitarian model has been replaced by ideas about socially differentiated society, and Latvian researchers have come to question the existence of a strong nobility.[96]

[92] HCL XX.2, p. 135. Uluots interpreted Henry's description of the Raikküla meeting as a proof of 'the democratic organisation of the ancient Estonian state' that, according to him, was a confederation of land-states (Est. *maariik*). See Jüri Uluots, 'Eesti muistest riiklikust ja ühiskondlikust korrast', *Looming* 6 (1932); 'Vana-Eesti rahvakoosolekutest', *Õigus* 18/8 (1937), 337–43. His ideas of its legal continuity are put forward in *Die Verträge der Esten mit den Fremden im XIII Jahrhundert* (Tartu, 1937).

[93] For an historiographical overview, see Andris Šnē, 'Stammesfürstentum und Egalität: Die sozialen Beziehungen auf dem Territorium Lettlands am Ende der prähistorischen Zeit (10.–12. Jahrhundert)', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 3 (2008), 33–56.

[94] Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', pp. 190–91. For a discussion of Henry's socio-feudal terminology, see Enn Tarvel, 'Die Interpretation der sozialhistorischen Terminologie in den livländischen Geschichtsquellen des 13. Jahrhunderts', in *The European Frontier: Clashes and Compromises in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jörn Staecker (Lund, 2004), pp. 311–14.

[95] Visvaldis was also portrayed (1935) by the prominent Latvian painter, Ludolf Liberts (1862–1959).

[96] See Šnē, 'Stammesfürstentum und Egalität'; Heiki Valk, 'Estland im 11.–13. Jahrhundert. Neuere Aspekte aus Sicht der Archäologie', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 2 (2008), 57–86.

The 1930s were characterized by the favouring of 'national scholarly disciplines' such as archaeology, ethnography, folkloristics or history. Scholars in these areas were dedicated to reconstructions of the 'authentic' and the 'ancient' (folklore, religion, customs, and so on), understood as the base of national values and culture. Specialization thus secured Henry a more neutral role in the national canon as the oldest source dealing with Estonian language, ethnography and folklore, and as a guidebook for archaeological material. The late 1930s, however, bore witness to the co-development of national scholarly disciplines and historical fiction, which also aimed at reconstructions of the ancient way of life.[97] This period saw a boom in historical novels that replaced tragic victim perspectives with militant narratives of past glory. Not surprisingly, the most victorious scene from Henry's chronicle (from the Estonian perspective) was now appropriated for fiction. In 1934, Mait Metsanurk published *Ümera jõel* ('On the Ümera River'). It retells the story of the Ümera (Latv. Jumara) battle (1210) where, according to Henry, Estonian troops caught the joint army of the Sword Brethren, Lettgallians and Livs by surprise and destroyed it.[98] Indeed, it provides one of the very few victories in the record of Estonian nationalist history. There were also other novels that drew on Henry to contribute to the story-world of the crusades.[99] The most illuminating examples of 1930s fiction, however, are the Viking novels. They are part of a wider trend of distancing from the German *Kulturraum* (the former colonizer) and promoting the Scandinavian orientation (the short-lived but idealized colonizer), which spread in both Estonia and Latvia.[100] This enthusiasm towards paganism, the Vikings and the Nordic race also reflects the general spirit of the time, and was, for instance, widely appropriated in Nazi Germany. In the Estonian (as well as Latvian) case there is a lack of sources on the Viking period and this enabled more flexible mythmaking. The desire to construct a joint history with Scandinavia also suggested a move away from the German-minded Henry (moreover, due to the rivalry between Riga and Lund it would be difficult to find anything pro-Scandinavian from his chronicle) and transformed the relationship to the chronicle. The Viking

[97] As has also been pointed out in Tiina Ann Kirss, 'Taking Sigtuna: Precolonial Time and Estonian Historical Fiction of the 1930s', *Interlitteraria* 13 (2008), 214–28 (here 224).

[98] Mait Metsanurk, *Ümera jõel* (Tartu, 1934). Henry of Livonia narrates the first battle of Ümera in HCL XIV.8, p. 79–81. Henry even mentions several of the fallen Christians by name and calls it 'martyrdom'.

[99] One of the most prominent crusading novels that dealt with events related to Lembitu was *Loojak* ('Decline') by Karl August Hindrey. See his *Loojak, I: Nõid* (Tartu, 1938), *Loojak, II: Lembitu* (Tartu, 1938).

[100] Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', p. 188.

novels therefore present compelling counter-narratives to colonial humiliation. In the words of the literary theorist Tiina Ann Kirss, 'the constructed past, the precolonial golden age is a substitute that compensates, rhetorically and ideologically, for later complexes of inferiority, marginality, subalterity'.[101] Yet, demonstrating that Henry's narrative of subjection did not vanish entirely, the most emblematic Viking novel, *Läänemere isandad* ('Lords of the Baltic Sea') (1936) by August Mälk starts by adapting a colonial scene from Henry's chronicle. Mälk's protagonists, the Öselians, see at the trading centre of Üxküll (Latv. Ikšķile) the first coming of the Saxon merchants and missionaries to the Livish settlements along the Düna (Latv. Daugava, Est. Väina) River.[102]

Thus the Estonian cultural memory was able to considerably expand its narrative sphere and strategies. However, not many additions were added to the existing record in this visualization of the past. This scarceness may seem striking, especially when compared to the experience of neighbouring young nations.[103] The reason may lie with an ideological opposition on the part of the artists, or the lack of victorious moments in the national historical narrative.[104] Even as late as the 1920s–30s the ancient past was narrated rather than visualized, and thus the Estonian cultural memory did not encompass almost any known visualizations of the crusades, or Henry's chronicle, save a small number of illustrations to fiction and textbooks. From among these the drawings and paintings in the standard 'Estonian History' (1935–40) have become stock illustrations of the Estonian Middle Ages, and reproduced on countless occasions. Interestingly, 'The Siege of Muhu Stronghold' by Ott Kangilaski (1911–75) has been most widely reproduced (see Figure 17.5). It is a historic genre painting depicting one of the final scenes of the chronicle, the capture of the hillfort in Moon (Est. Muhu) (1227).[105] Even though from the perspective of national narrative it visualizes a decisive loss in the 'ancient fight for freedom', it likely owes its popularity to the dynamics and dramatics of the battle scene (and perhaps also

[101] Kirss, 'Taking Sigtuna', p. 216. The most influential of the Viking novels were Karl August Hindrey, *Urmas ja Merike* ('Urmas and Merike') (Tartu, 1935–36) and August Mälk, *Läänemere isandad* ('Lords of the Baltic Sea') (Tartu, 1936).

[102] Borrowing from HCL I.2, p. 2 and his books I and II in general. This connection has also been pointed out in Kirss, 'Taking Sigtuna', p. 222.

[103] See Derek Fewster, *Visions of Past Glory: Nationalism and the Construction of Early Finnish History* (Helsinki, 2006), esp. pp. 188–284.

[104] As has been suggested in Tiina Abel, 'Between Scylla and Charybdis: International and Vernacular in the Estonian Art of the 1930s', in *Modernity and Identity: Art in 1918–1940*, ed. Jolita Mulevičiute (Vilnius, 2000), pp. 141–55.

[105] HCL XXX.4, pp. 217–19.

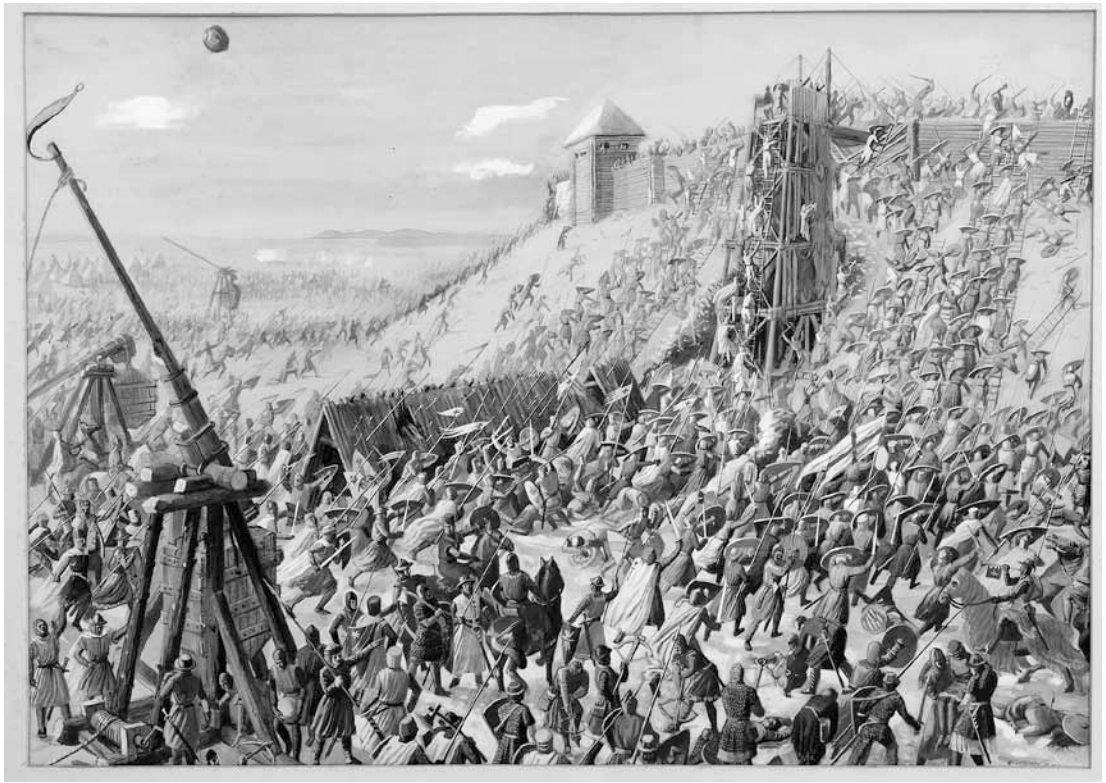

Figure 17.5 Ott Kangilaski, 'Muhu linnuse vallutamine' ('The Siege of Muhu Stronghold'). The painting is based on an illustration in the first volume (1935) of the pre-war standard 'Estonian History'. Watercolour. 1941. © Estonian History Museum

to the decorative beige-red colour scheme), suggesting that even losses can be represented magnificently.

Next to national disciplines and fiction, performances became another chief medium in the appropriation of Henry's chronicle. Already in the early twentieth century, the crusades had inspired one of the first Estonian operas, Artur Lemba's *Lembitu tütar* ('The Daughter of Lembitu', libretto by the prominent poetess Anna Haava [1864–1957]) (1908). In the 1930s a tradition was established of re-performing the 'ancient fight for freedom' in open-air plays. Quite tellingly, such performances found their way into the repertoire of song festivals that were (and still are) prominent celebrations of Estonian nationalism and identity.[106] During the 1938 song festival, an open-air performance 'For the Freedom of the Land' (by the poet Henrik Visnapuu [1890–1951] and composer Eugen Kapp) was performed. Hellar Grabbi (b. 1929), later a prominent figure in the Estonian exile community, remembers attending the event as a small boy: 'Horsemen galloped from one side of the song festival ground to the other, warriors cried out and ran through the people, battle-axes whirled, spears zipped by and at the song festival stage merciless sword fights took place, women in folk costumes sang and Estonian chieftains gave speeches.'[107]

The 1920–30s also witnessed the (re)construction and (re)performance of ancient pagan 'land religion' (Est. *maausk*) or 'Taara religion'. Officially registered in 1932 as the religious society 'Grove' (Est. *Hiis*),[108] it is a good example of modernity's longing for the ancient. The new cult began its chronology from the proclamation of the Estonian republic (1918), yet sought to embody 'ancient' values and practices. Not surprisingly, the cult possessed a strong ritual component, suggesting a need for performances of authenticity. The identity of the movement was thus constructed hand in hand with its ritual system (the performance of ancient rites [Est. *taigad*]). In Latvia during the 1920s the *Dievturi* movement was established, which likewise aimed at the revival of the ancient religion (owing much to Merkel's pantheon of Latvian gods). In both Estonia and Latvia these movements were re-enlivened in the 1990s, when rapid social and ideological changes again created a longing for authentic and ancient values and practices.

During the 1920–30s the Latvian and Estonian narrative and imageries of the crusades expanded in ways that were more coherent and one-sided. Paradoxically

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[106] See Kristin Kuutma, 'Cultural Identity, Nationalism and Changes in Singing Traditions', *Folklore* 7 (1998), 12–26.

[107] Hellar Grabbi, *Vabariigi laps* (Tartu, 2008), p. 172. The play has been published as Henrik Visnapuu, *Maa vabaduse eest* (Tallinn, 1938).

[108] A good overview of the society's activities was published in its journal, *Hiis* ('Grove'): see 'Taara avitab', *Hiis* 4 (1933), 87–91.

the pre-war nationalist scheme was also used during the Soviet period. Narratives about the peasant fight against German overlords matched the principal subject of historical materialism, that is, class struggle.[109] The early Soviet period also produced the first Marxist interpretation of Henry's chronicle by the Latvian historian Jānis Zutis (1893–1962).[110] According to the Soviet narrative, victory was achieved not with the War of Independence, but with the establishment of the Soviet regime (1940, 1944). The opposition of the natives and the 'German robber-conquerors' also relied on World War II propaganda that drew analogies between Nazi troops and the Teutonic Knights and German crusaders. This, in turn, continued from the nineteenth-century *Drang nach Osten* critiques.[111] As a result, one can notice a certain radicalization of enemy images. Indeed, as the Soviet historiography was characterized by a strong anti-German attitude, the pre-war principles of national history were adopted without many problems.[112]

Next to class struggle, the ancient Russian and Estonian-Latvian friendship was the other subject favoured in the Soviet teaching of history.[113] In this context, the Baltic crusades were conceptualized as part of the militant aggression into Eastern Europe by Western European feudalism and the papal church. According to this version, the Russians' role in Baltic medieval history was

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[109] For a brief introduction, see Jüri Kivimäe, 'Re-writing Estonian History?', in *National History and Identity: Approaches to the Writing of National History in the North-East Baltic Region, 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Michael Branch (Helsinki, 1999), pp. 205–12 (here 209).

[110] Yan Zutis, Очерки по историографии Латвии, vol. 1: Прибалтийско-немецкая историография (Riga, 1949).

[111] See Wolfgang Wippermann, *Der 'deutsche Drang nach Osten': Ideologie und Wirklichkeit eines politischen Schlagwortes* (Darmstadt, 1981); Hans-Heinrich Nolte, *'Drang nach Osten': Sowjetische Geschichtsschreibung der deutschen Ostexpansion* (Frankfurt am Main, 1976).

[112] As also argued by Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', pp. 191–8. For the Soviet historiography, cf. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, *Aleksandr Nevskij. Heiliger – Fürst – Nationalheld. Eine Erinnerungsfigur im russischen kulturellen Gedächtnis (1263–2000)* (Cologne, 2004). Indeed, the best-known comparisons of the Baltic crusades to present-day politics are the films 'Alexander Nevsky' (1938) and 'Ivan the Terrible' (1944–46) by the Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948).

[113] This tradition is not new, but rather had already been introduced to Estonian-language histories during the Czarist period of the late nineteenth century and relied to a great extent on Henry's remarks about the cooperation of the Estonians and the Russians. See Viires, 'Eestlaste ajalooteadvus', pp. 32–4. Likewise, in Latvia, accounts of the Russian influence in Lettgallian lands were appropriated from Henry. Illuminating examples of this approach during the Soviet period are the official standard post-war Estonian and Latvian histories, respectively *Eesti NSV ajalugu, I*, ed. Gustav Naan and Artur Vassar (Tallinn, 1955) and *Latvijas PSR vēstures*, ed. Jānis Zutis (Riga, 1953).

understood as that of a saviour of local peoples in their fight against foreign conquerors and colonizers (similar to the image of the Red Army in World War II). In the Estonian cultural memory, it was again a work of historical fiction, Enn Kippel's (1901–42) youth novel *Meelis* (1941), that gave the most prominent affirmation of this eternal friendship. In this piece an Estonian boy, Meelis (a fictive character), fights together with Vetseke (Russ. Vyachko, a character from Henry's chronicle) against the Germans. The main protagonist, Meelis, illustrates well a plot device taken from Henry in Estonian historical novels: the stories of young boys who are held hostage by Germans and later return to continue the fight. These rely on Henry's accounts of how the native chieftains had to grant peace by handing over their sons (a pattern also used in the Latvian tradition, see below). Vetseke, originally a vassal of Polotsk and a Prince of Kokenhusen (or Kukenois, Lavt. Koknese), according to Henry at first became a vassal of Bishop Albert, yet, after a failed attempt to take Riga with the Polotskians, fled to Russia. In 1223, after an Estonian uprising against the Rigan Christians, Vetseke was granted men and money by Novgorod to establish himself in Dorpat. The crusaders, however, managed to take Dorpat in 1224 and Vetseke was killed along with the other defenders of the fort. While for Henry Vetseke is 'like a snare and a great devil',[114] for the Soviet historiography his action during the defence of Dorpat was a symbol of the two nations' friendship against a common enemy (the German colonizers). In 1980, this joint heroism was made manifest in space. As a part of Tartu's 950th jubilee year programme, there was erected near the ancient hillfort a monument to Meelis and Vetseke, which had originally been designed by the sculptor Olav Männi (1925–80) as early as 1950 (see Figure 17.6). Indeed, during the Soviet period a few other monuments were constructed to commemorate the fight against the thirteenth-century German conquerors. In Estonia, the greatest was the monument for the defenders of Saccala in 1217–1223 (erected in 1969, authors Renaldo Veeber and Ülo Stöör) that was placed in Lõhavere, in the area that had previously also been used for monumentalizing the links between the ancient fight for freedom and the War of Independence (see above).

Regarding the presence of the chronicle's text itself, the first twentieth-century Estonian translation of Henry's chronicle was produced by an exile publisher in Stockholm in 1962. In the Soviet Estonia a new, facing translation appeared in 1982 and in Latvia only in 1993.[115] Though the Estonian 1982

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[114] HCL XXVIII.2, p. 201; Brundage, p. 221. Vyachko is also mentioned in HCL IX.10, p. 30–31, XI.2, p. 48, XIII.1, pp. 66–7, XXV.2, XXVII.5, p. 197–8, XXVIII.1, p. 199, XXVIII.3, p. 201, XXVIII.5, p. 203.

[115] *Henriku Liivimaa kroonika*, trans. Julius Mägiste (Stockholm, 1962). *Henriku Liivimaa kroonika*, trans. Richard Kleis, ed., notes and introduction Enn Tarvel (Tallinn,

Figure 17.6 A monument to Meelis and Vetseke in Tartu, Estonia. Sculptor: Olav Männi. Bronze. Designed 1950, erected in Tartu in 1980 © Tartu City Museum

edition had a large print-run (15,000 copies) typical of Soviet publishing, it sold out almost immediately. During the Soviet period, however, only a few studies were conducted into the chronicle itself. Emblematic of the attitude towards Henry is *Hõbevalge* ('Silverwhite', 1976), a popular book by Lennart Meri (1929–2006), the later President of Estonia. This mythologizing reconstruction of the ancient history of the Baltic Sea region demonstrates the enthusiasm of the late 1970s and early 1980s towards the ethnic and Finno-Ugric past. It sought to advance an alternative history of ancient Estonia, presenting a mishmash of associations from Kaali meteorite to the fourth-century BC Greek geographer Pytheas of Massilia, as well as Arabian chronicles, and placed the Estonians in the centre of European history. Meri was not unaware that his vision of ancient glory differed considerably from Henry's version of the past. 'Henry does not lie. He keeps silence. ... We should appreciate more highly his ability to keep silence

1982). *Indriķa hronika*, trans. Ābrams Feldhūns, notes and introduction Ēvalds Mugurēvičs (Riga, 1993). See also Chapter 16 by Tiina Kala in this volume.

in a captivating and truth-like manner.'[116] Indeed, the book is a remarkable sign of another, equally confident meta-narrative shift, as it openly replaces Henry's chronicle with folklore and favours narratives that better suit a poetic vision.

During the period of regaining independence in the Baltic in 1991, the usage of history played an important role in the project that in Estonia has been called the creation of a 'republic of historians'.[117] The metaphor of 'national re-awakening' was used, linking the contemporary-era time to that of the nineteenth-century nationalist 'awakening'. This included nationalist guidelines being reapplied to the writing of history.[118] A good example of the restoration of traditional nationalist history was 'The Waning of the Ancient Times in Estonia: The Fight for Freedom in 1208–1227' (1990) by Professor Sulev Vahtre (1926–2007). The book offers an almost line-by-line translation of Henry's chronicle into a national historical narrative, revealing the level to which traditional, positivistic historical discourse depends on the chronicle. To this point, it has also remained the only Estonian book in which the crusades have been introduced to a wider audience.

New values that were propagated especially before Latvia and Estonia joined the European Union, however, complicated history writing. On one hand, the crusades still dominated medieval history and were represented as a lost tragic 'ancient fight for freedom'. On the other, a 'Europeanization' narrative has complemented the traditional story. That these narratives can exist in parallel, but not in dialogue, is shown in a recent history textbook where the chapter following the traditional representation of the 'ancient fight for freedom' is titled 'Estonia joins Western Europe'.[119] Another example of this contradiction is the return of the sculpture of Henry's main protagonist, Bishop Albert, to Riga Cathedral. The figure, made by Karl Bernewitz (1897), disappeared during World War I. In 2001, the exiled Baltic-Germans donated its replacement to the city for its 800th jubilee. The gift was received with mixed feelings, however. While the sculpture fit well within the conjuncture of Europeanization, the subject featured has been viewed as an antagonistic figure in the national history.[120]

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[116] Lennart Meri, *Hõbevalge* (Tallinn, 1976), pp. 412, 415.

[117] Marek Tamm, '"Vikerkaare ajalugu?" Märkmeid üleminekuaja Eesti ajalookultuurist', *Vikerkaar* 7–8 (2006), 136–43.

[118] Such as the popular 'Homeland Story': see Mart Laar, Lauri Vahtre and Heiki Valk, *Kodu lugu, I–II* (Tallinn, 1989). Cf. Linda Kaljundi, '"Ein sicherer Halt": Zum Verhältnis von Geschichte und Analogieprinzip in "Kodu Lugu"', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 4 (2009), 238–48.

[119] Eha Hergauk, Mart Laar and Maria Tilk, *Ajalugu 5. klassile*, 2nd rev. edn (Tallinn, 2002).

[120] Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', p. 205.

Since the 1990s, and to a greater degree in the 2000s, the views of historians, art historians and archaeologists on the crusades and conversion have significantly altered, influenced by the boom in studying 'the making of Europe' and the emergence of more neutral concepts such as cultural encounters.[121] Plurality has also increased in the popular culture of medievalism. This has included the appropriations of the crusades into popular media (though certainly, one could argue that the focus of memory conflicts has shifted to World War II and post-war history). There exists a growing tendency to perform events of ancient and medieval warfare, including those from Henry's chronicle. Next to professional staging, the popularity of re-enactment has added a new dimension to the relationship with Henry's past: the striving for personal and bodily experience. Such embodiment is closely linked to other fairly new aspects of popular medievalism designed to lead to the sensuous consumption (feeling, touching, smelling, and so on) of the Middle Ages, such as medieval markets, villages or restaurants. As it has elsewhere, in the Baltic countries hedonism has eased the tensions created by the dichotomies of the nationalist narrative.

Author, Author

There still exists, however, one significant body of issues that needs to be addressed in the history of the appropriations of Henry's chronicle – namely, that of the chronicler himself. Taking up from the earlier discussion, one could characterize Henry's chronicle as a marker of colonial trauma. It allowed for young nations to enter the sphere of written history and catalyse their own historical narrative. Yet, the chronicle also struck a wound in the ego of the young nations. Such uneasy relations resulted in complicated liaisons with Henry. The chronicler became a rather Janus-like figure. On the one hand, Henry was 'the father' of Latvian and Estonian history. On the other, he was a tyrant and stranger, one whose language and mind we do not understand – but whom our young and fragile national egos have had to accept and adapt, as well as continuously fight against and falsify.

The first problematic has traditionally been the question of Henry's nationality. It was Johann Daniel Gruber who created the tradition of 'Henry

[121] For an introduction into the range of new studies, consult the bibliography of this volume, CCBF and CCMBF. Also the 'Culture Clash or Compromise' (1996–2005) project lead by Nils Blomkvist at Gotland University College and its numerous publications had a major role in changing the focus of Baltic medieval studies. For a broader perspective, see Sven Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen Nicholson (London, 2005), pp. 172–203.

the Latvian' (*Henricus Lettus*, *Henricus de Lettis*), as he stated in the first print edition of *Chronicon Livoniae* (1740) that its author was a Latvian.[122] The subsequent German translators of the chronicle, Johann Gottfried Arndt (1747) and August Hansen (1853), maintained this view and referred to *Heinrich von Lettland*.[123] The studies written in other European languages took over the concept of 'Henry the Latvian' (or, *Henri le Letton*, or, *Henryk Lotewski*) and this was preserved well into the 1930s.[124] However, the Baltic-German scholars who initially stressed Henry's local origins were also amongst the first to question his nationality, such as Paul Eduard Jordan (1825–94).[125] As previously argued, in the late nineteenth century, competition amongst Latvians and Estonians and the pressures of Russification had complicated the Baltic-Germans' status. In these circumstances, and with the Romantic yearning for the German Middle Ages, it suited the Baltic-German community better that the famous chronicler be a German. When, in turn, Latvian historians started to claim Henry's origin, the dispute over the chronicler's nationality became a major feature of Baltic-German and Latvian polemics. Even though it is often difficult to ascertain the origin of medieval authors, parties have often appropriated these figures to aid in the reaching of their political goals. The dispute is also reflected in the historiography of the region, though a positive result of those arguments has been in-depth studies of the chronicle.

Not surprisingly, Henry's ethnicity has played a great role in Latvian national cultural memory. In the nineteenth century, Latvian national Romanticists regarded Henry as having been Latvian. For this they did not have to destroy any old, or create new, historiographical traditions, but could easily use the already

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[122] *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, seu chronicon Livonicum vetus* ..., pp. II–IV. See also Chapter 3 by Jüri Kivimäe in this volume.

[123] See *Der Liefländischen Chronik Erster Theil von Liefland unter seinen ersten Bischöfen*; and *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis: Heinrich's des Letten älteste Chronik von Livland*.

[124] See, for instance, Jean Meuvret, *Histoire des Pays Baltiques: Lituanie–Lettonie, Estonie–Finlande* (Paris, 1934), p. 49; Henryk Łowmianski, *Studja nad początkami spoleczenstwa i panstwa litewskiego*, vol. 1 (Vilnius, 1931), p. XII; N. de Baumgarten, 'Polotzk et la Lithuanie. Une page d'histoire', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 2/1–2 (1936), 223–53 (here 227). Every so often, one still meets 'Henry the Latvian' in international scholarly writing: see, for instance, Thierry Canava, 'Les peuples fenniques dans la Chronique d'Henri le Letton', *Etudes finno-ougriennes* 26 (1994), 99–119; Endre Bojtár, *Foreword to the Past: A Cultural History of the Baltic People* (Budapest, 1999), p. 122; and *Enrico di Lettonia Chronicon Livoniae. La crociata del Nord (1184–1227)*, trans., notes and introduction Piero Bugiani (Livorno, 2005), esp. pp. XXXIX–XLV.

[125] Paul Jordan, 'Ueber den sogenannten Heinrich den Letten', *Das Inland* 23/14 (1858), cols 221–5.

existing version of Henry's origins. Yet, this interpretation has traditionally posed a problem, one that has not been fully resolved until the present period. Should Latvia be acknowledged as the heir to Livonia? In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Enlightenment stereotypes dominated the Latvian cultural memory. At the forefront were narratives of how German traders, missionaries and crusaders subjugated the natives into slavery. Yet, when dealing with the crusades as Henry described them, it is difficult to omit that from the start the Livs, Lettgallians and Wends had allied with the German newcomers and thus participated in the genesis of Livonia. Latvian nationalists dealt with this inconvenient problem by condemning the 'collaborationism' of Caupo, but kept silent over the cooperation of the Lettgallians and Germans. Meanwhile, although middle-class Latvians had largely adopted German language and socio-cultural habits, the ideological and political gap between Latvians and Baltic-Germans kept widening. In this situation, 'Henry the Latvian' remained one of the few remaining bridges across the cultural divide. For example, Andrejs Pumpurs, in his otherwise strongly anti-German national epic *Lāčplēsis*, depicted Henry as a Latvian youth who was educated in Germany and became a Christian priest in his native land. The epic recounts how Caupo took him 'with him to Germany, to learn the "German wisdom"':

> The youths that Caupo brought
> With him to German shore
> Stayed with the monks who taught,
> And learned in cloisters more.
> Among them in that place
> One's later fame has grown;
> Although *of Latvian race*,
> As '*Henry*' he is known.[126]

This interpretation seems to suit well the assumption that priests were recruited from among the local population and corresponds with Henry's account of Livish leaders handing over about 30 boys to Bishop Albert (a motif that has also been quite widely used in Estonian historical fiction). Although the chronicle tells of Livs, not Lettgallians, the nineteenth-century nationalists did not differentiate the peoples who had been living on the territory of contemporary Latvia. Later, in the 1930s, a heated discussion on Henry's origins began anew when Arveds Švābe (1888–1959), the founder of the Latvian national historiography,

[126] Andrejs Pumpurs, *Bearslayer: The Latvian Legend*, trans. Arthur Cropley, ed. Arthur Cropley, Ausma Cimdiņa and Kaspars Kļaviņš (Riga, 2007), p. 152 (our emphasis).

published an article 'Who Was Henry the Latvian?' (1938).[127] In it, he put forward several new arguments to prove the Latvian origins of Henry.

The Estonians also presented another closely related problem. The attitude of late nineteenth-century Latvian nationalists towards the Estonians was sympathetic. Unfortunately, upon reading Henry's chronicle, it is difficult to ignore the violent wars between Lettgallians and Estonians, and the Lettgallians' frequent and bloody raids into Estonia. These were dealt with in significant pieces of nationalist Romanticist poetry that always suggested Estonian aggression and claimed that it was only the peaceful policies of Lettgallians that managed to cease the conflict. These poems also often reference fragments of the chronicle that mention Henry's close ties with Lettgallians. An interesting example of this is the epic ballad *Beverīnas dziedonis* ('The Beverin Singer') by the poet Auseklis (Miķelis Krogzemis [1850–79]). The ballad is based on the fragment that describes how the Estonians besieged the Lettgallians' fort in Beverin (1208). Auseklis, however, called the Estonians 'brothers' in order to underline the tragic character of such a war. According to the chronicle, a priest (likely Henry himself) took part in defending the fort, not with fighting, but rather with 'singing prayers to God on a musical instrument'.[128] The ballad was written for the first Latvian Song Festival (1873) as a hymn praising the victory of spiritual might over military might. Later, in 1891 and 1900, the national Romanticist composer Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948) used the ballad for a choral song still sung at Latvian Song Festivals today. In Auseklis's poetry, Henry is depicted as an old Latvian priest, Waidelott (an image that Latvian national Romanticism borrowed from Old Prussian mythologies) with grey hair and a white beard and resembling the mythological national patriarch depicted on the flag of the Song Festival.

Disputes over Henry's nationality only calmed down after World War II. By then, Latvian scholars had lost interest in the question of Henry's ethnicity, partly due to the destruction of the Baltic-German community as a result of the *Umsiedlung* (expatriation) and war that had brought, at a high price, an end to the confrontation between the German and Latvian communities. The official Soviet histories treated Henry as a 'proponent of the aggressive crusaders', and Latvian scholars in exile regarded him as a medieval priest whose ethnicity was not relevant. Differently from the first republic of Latvia, however, when Henry was not portrayed in fiction, after World War II the version of Henry's Lettgallian or Livish origin survived almost exclusively in Latvian literature. Moreover,

[127] Arveds Švābe, 'Kas bija Latviešu Indriķis', *Senatne un Māksla* 4 (1938), 11–38. See also his 'Latviešu Indriķis un viņa hronika', in *Straumes un avoti*, vol. 2 (Riga, 1940), pp. 121–220.

[128] HCL XII.6, pp. 63–4; Brundage, p. 85.

during the Soviet period, it became an important symbol of opposition and/or collaboration. Vizma Belševica's (1931–2005) poem *Indriķa Latvieša piezīmes uz Livonijas hronikas malām* ('The Notations of Henry the Latvian in the Margins of the Livonian Chronicle' [1969]) became a manifesto of Latvian resistance, as it could be interpreted as suggesting similarities between papal and Soviet imperialism. In the poem, Henry (identified as a Latvian or Liv) writes the chronicle according to the conquerors' needs, yet suffers deeply as a patriot and, furthermore, curses 'his' people as a 'traitorous', 'servile and slavish' nation.[129] The poem also uses many citations from the chronicle. Later, in 1985, the prose of Jānis Kalniņš (1922–2000) used Henry to address tendentious history writing.[130] This was not a new tradition. Already the founding father of the study of Latvian national history, Jānis Krodznieks (1851–1924), had blamed Henry for collaboration, even though in many debates with Baltic-German historians Krodznieks had defended his local origin.[131]

Next to Henry himself, one of his characters is also closely bound to the theme of collaboration. This is the previously mentioned Caupo, the Livish chieftain who became a prototype for 'traitor'. Henry writes that he accepted baptism, travelled to Rome, met with Pope Innocent III and, upon his return, fought in the name of Christianity against his Livish countrymen. As a symbol for collaborator, Caupo was introduced in Merkel's story *Wannem Ymanta* (1802) (discussed above) that shows him to have been a selfish man motivated by a will to power.[132] In the Latvian cultural memory, Caupo was a stereotypical collaborator that shows up not only in *belles-lettres*, art and music, but also in political journalism and literature. This began to change only during the late 1980s and 1990s. In this period, it began to be asked whether Caupo perhaps was not a 'traitor' (also his role in Soviet narratives), but a 'visionary' who wanted to join his people with those of Western Europe. During recent decades, he has thus become both the symbol of European integration and the object lesson of Euro-scepticism.[133]

[129] Vizma Belševica, *Gadu gredzeni* ('Annual Rings') (Riga, 1969). See Gunars Saliņš, 'On Allegory: Vizma Belševica's Poem "The Notations of Henricus de Lettis in the Margins of the Livonian Chronicle"', *Lituanus* 16/1 (1970), 22–32.

[130] Jānis Kalniņš, *Hronists un velns* (Riga, 1985).

[131] See Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', pp. 186–7.

[132] See Detlef Henning, 'From Kangars to Rubiks: The Long Line of Traitors in the Historical Political Culture of Latvia', JBS 37/2 (2006), 179–93 (here 181–2).

[133] Henning, 'From Kangars to Rubiks', p. 181. See also Agita Misane, 'Velreiz par Kaupo vesturi sko un literaro dzlvi', *Karogs* 2 (2001), 194–206, and Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', pp. 203–5.

The image of 'Henry the Latvian' today has not lost its symbolic meaning in Latvian fiction. Jānis Lejiņš's (1954) decorated trilogy *Zīmogs sarkanā vaskā* ('A Seal in Red Wax' [2001–09]) draws on Henry's chronicle amongst other sources. It focuses on the life of Tālivaldis (Thalibald, Thalibaldus), a Lettgallian chieftain who likely ruled over the Tālava region and the strongholds of Trikāta and Beverina. He represents one of the few characters from the chronicle whose biography, as presented by Henry, is well suited for the basing of a dramatic and adventurous protagonist.[134] The books have been welcomed for their unifying national and rather conservative message, as the author addresses the key issues of modern nationalism, such as the relationship between big and small nations, and forgotten ancient national values and (semi-mystic) skills.[135] In the beginning of the new millennium, Henry's text was also transformed into a rock opera *Indriķa hronika* ('The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia') (2000). Here the author of the libretto, Māra Zālīte, aimed at addressing the great conflicts of the modern world, the genesis of which she traces back to the thirteenth century. In a similar vein, she uses the character of 'Henry the Latvian' in an allegorical way to interpret the history of the Baltics in the twentieth century.[136]

As the Estonians have never had to wonder seriously whether Henry was an Estonian, their relationship with Henry is not as complicated as it has been in Latvia. The beginning of Henry's cultural translation into an emerging Estonian narrative was marked by an eagerness to learn the sources of ancient history. Jaan Jung, the author of the chronicle's first translation into Estonian, advances one possible way to overcome the anxiety that characterizes the later rather disdainful and distrustful attitude towards Henry. Taking a patronizing stand, Jung argues that: 'altogether Henry the Latvian is very childish in his faith and mind, which is not surprising considering his times, because at that time everybody had such a childish faith, and even more so he as he was a priest.'[137] Curiously, an example of a similar attitude and one of the more enthusiastic calls for the study of Henry's chronicle can be found in a book by a prominent folklorist, Matthias Johann Eisen (1857–1934). Eisen authored the first Estonian biographical series 'Significant Men'. Its sixth volume (1884) is dedicated to 'Henry the

[134] Tālivaldis (T(h)alibald, T(h)alibaldus) is mentioned in HCL XII.6, p. 61; HCL XV.7, pp. 93–4; XVII.2, p.113 (capture by and escape from the Lithuanians); XVIII.3, p. 116; XVIII.5, p. 119; XIX.3, p. 126 (torture and death at the hands of the Estonians).

[135] Ieva Kolmane, 'Kirjandus kriisiaja Lätis', *Vikerkaar* 7–8 (2010), 112–16 (here 115). The books of the trilogy are Janis Lejinš, *Brāļi* ('Brothers' [Riga, 2001]), *Ķēniņš* ('The King' [Riga, 2004]), *Rūnas* ('Runes' [Riga, 2009]).

[136] Māra Zālīte, 'Indriķa hronika. Librets rokoperai pēc "Indriķa hronikas" u.c. vēstures avotu motīviem', in Māra Zālīte, *Sauciet to par teātri* (Riga, 2001), pp. 455–519.

[137] Jung, 'Eessöna', p. 5.

Latvian' and Heinrich Stahl (c. 1600–1657), the author of the first grammar of the Estonian language (1637). Eisen laments the lack of sources for the 'ancient life and ways of the Estonian people', and on the 'complete darkness that covers everything from you, so that you see nothing'.[138] He continues with Henry's eulogy, as in him: 'we have found the first book of time that gives quite a lot of messages about the Estonian people. ... As here we for the first time find the true knowledge, this book of time and its writer are very worthy of attention and it is the duty of every son of the fatherland and a lover of one's people to introduce himself to them both.'[139]

As the opposition between 'our' and 'other' sources gradually began to dominate, however, Henry's chronicle came to be regarded as something alien. Moreover, it could be argued that Henry himself had been brushed aside and had not had any prominent position within Estonian cultural memory. The controversial father figure does not have a face: his only function seems to be to provide an eyewitness confirmation of the beginning of Estonian history and disappear the next moment. Thus, Henry's lower place can be understood when compared to the prominent role afforded to the other great Livonian chronicler, Balthasar Russow (c. 1536–1600). The national tradition considers Russow as Estonian, namely due to a suite of four novels, *Kolme katku vahel* ('Between Three Plagues', 1970–80), by Jaan Kross (1920–2007), one of the most important authors contributing to the cultural memory.[140] Henry is instead taken for a German and a spokesperson of the German perspective, even though he is still widely called *Läti Henrik* (which translates as both 'Henry the Latvian' and 'Henry of Latvia'). A good example of this approach is Karl August Hindrey's novel *Nõid* ('Witch' [1938]) which presents Henry (here a Germanized Lettgallian) as a zealous representative of the colonial gaze.[141]

There was a group of authors, however, which showed considerably greater interest or even sympathy towards the contributions of 'alien' agents and perspectives. These were the post-war exiled writers. The previously discussed Estonian translation of Henry's chronicle from 1962 was published jointly by two exile publishing houses, *Vaba Maa* ('A Free Land') and *Maarjamaa* ('The

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138 Matthias Johann Eisen, *Tähtsad mehed*, vol. 6 (Tartu, 1884), p. 3.

139 Eisen, *Tähtsad mehed*, pp. 4–5.

140 Jaan Kross, *Kolme katku vahel*, 4 vols (Tallinn, 1970, 1972, 1977, 1980). Kross drew on the hypothesis of the historian Paul Johansen: see Paul Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow als Humanist und Geschichtsschreiber*, ed. Heinz von zur Mühlen (Cologne, 1996). Russow has also been personified in Estonian cultural memory by the legendary opera singer Georg Ots (1920–75), who portrayed him in a TV film 'Between Three Plagues' (1970), written by Jaan Kross.

141 Hindrey, *Loojak, I: Nõid*.

Land of Mary'). The latter was founded to introduce the Catholic tradition in Estonian. According to its founder, Vello Salo (b. 1925), in publishing Henry's chronicle they aimed to relieve the us-and-them dichotomy and the anti-clerical attitudes in the cultural memory.[142] Similar tendencies can also be found in exile historical fiction. The best example of this is Ain Kalmus's (1906–2001) trilogy about the Christianization of Estonia. Contrasting with the previous tradition, his novels' protagonists accept Christianity voluntarily. Kalmus has chosen his main characters from among the first documented Christian Estonians: he focuses on Nicolaus (according to a letter [1170] by Pope Alexander III [1159–81], he was appointed the assistant of Fulco, the missionary bishop of Estonia) and Tabelinus, the baptized Estonian who is mentioned three times by Henry.[143] Developing these elements into a fictive plot, Kalmus abandoned the antagonism of the pagan and Christian world and pondered on the question of alternative histories, posing the counterfactual question of whether Estonia could have been Christianized without violence. While Kalmus's novels draw on Henry, another central exiled author, Bernard Kangro (1910–94) also addressed the problem of non-violent conversion in constructing a counter-narrative to Henry. This was the fictive diary of Andreas Sunesen, the archbishop of Lund (r. 1201–28) who led the Danish crusade to Estonia (1219).[144] Kangro's Andreas openly confronts his text with Henry's chronicle and remarks that the Danes 'should have appointed some young literate who would have written down all the important things ... As I knew that Albert of Bremen [that is, Bishop Albert] had chosen priest Henricus who at once recorded all the important events.' Once again, this reveals the desire for the existence and/or discovery of another chronicle of the Livonian crusades. Kangro's Andreas does not keep silent that he has 'serious doubts that Heinricus writes as it pleases Albert'.[145] One prominent author of the exile community, the cultural anthropologist and writer Ilmar Talve (1919–2007), wished to write a novel about Henry, but

[142] Vello Salo, 'Veri ja vesi. Mõtteid ühe vana raamatu puhul', *Maarjamaa* 2 (1962). I would like to thank Vello Salo for providing this material (Linda Kaljundi).

[143] Ain Kalmus, *Jumalad lahkuvad maalt* ('Gods Leave the Land') (Lund, 1956), *Toone tuuled üle maa* ('Toonela Winds Blow over the Land') (Lund, 1958), *Koju enne õhtut* ('Home before Evening') (Lund, 1964). For Henry's information, see HCL XXIII.7, p. 161; XXIV.1, p. 170. Later Henry also mentions 'the province of Tabellinus', HCL XXIX.7, p. 213.

[144] Bernard Kangro, *Kuus päeva: Andreas Sunepoja päevaraamat ja pihtimused* ('Six Days: The Diary and the Confessions of Andreas Sunesen') (Lund, 1980, 2nd edn Tallinn, 2006). Interestingly, there is another Estonian historical novel that reveals a similar longing for a non-existent Danish crusading source and presents a fictive diary of Andreas Sunesen: Jaan Kross, *Väljakaevamised* ('Excavations') (Tallinn, 1990).

[145] Kangro, *Kuus päeva*, p. 279.

failed.[146] So Henry was not able to achieve an elevated status, even within such favourable literary circles.

It has only been since the 1990s that authors have started to take an interest in Henry. In the contemporary setting, one meets him quite often, particularly in plays and films: in Endel Nirk's (b. 1925) play *Tabelinus* (1990), in a summer theatre performance *Soolaev* ('Marsh-ship', 2005) and a Monty Python-style parody film *Malev* (2005).[147] These works present rather different images. As *Tabelinus* stresses the moral superiority of the Estonians (also perhaps echoing the mood of the late 1980s and early 1990s), here Henry is still the rather grey side character, a naive justifier of aggression. But 'Marsh-ship' presents a significant alteration to this image. The play was staged in Soontagana and holds as truth the belief that Henry wrote most of his chronicle there. In a saga that unfolds from the Livonian crusades to World War II, Henry as a character was not limited to being the author of his chronicle, but he was made into the love interest of one of the leading female characters. Furthermore, Henry shortly afterwards became a central character in the play *Henrik* ('Henry', 2006) by the journalist, writer and historian Andrei Hvostov (b. 1963). In this provocative work, Henry challenges the nationalist narrative of Estonian history, using his eyewitness authority.[148]

These appearances of a figure who had previously been very much in the shadows of discourse also indicate the shift in the Estonian historical *belles-lettres* towards more private stories and marginalized viewpoints. This represents quite a transition when compared to the 1930s, when panoramic narratives and heroes who symbolized their nation dominated the genre. We might also call it another meta-narrative turn, as it presents a more relaxed attitude towards Henry's chronicle. The aforementioned texts and performances give voice to previously silenced figures, including Henry and the native Christians he mentions. The heroism of national symbol figures (such as Lembitu) is, in turn, questioned or even ridiculed, especially in Hvostov's play, *Henrik* and the film, *Malev*. In the film, Henry is mocked as an exaggerated stereotype of a medieval

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[146] *Eesti kirjandus paguluses XX sajandil*, ed. Piret Kruuspere (Tallinn, 2008), p. 172.

[147] Endel Nirk, *Tabelinus* (Tallinn, 1990). *Soolaev* ('Marsh-ship') was written by Triin Sinissaar and performed in 2005 and 2006 in Soontagana by Folk Theatre *Loomine* ('Creation'), who mostly perform Estonian and Finno-Ugric folklore heritage. Henry was played by the popular actor Indrek Sammul. The film *Malev* (Estonia, 2005) was directed by Kaaren Kaer. In 1991 there was also staged the first part of the above-mentioned *Tabelinus* trilogy by Ain Kalmus, *Jumalad lahkuvad maalt* ('Gods Leave the Land'), directed by Peeter Tammearu, Ugala Theatre.

[148] Andrei Hvostov, *Henrik* (Tallinn, 2006). See Linda Kaljundi, 'Tagasitulek isa juurde', *Looming* 10 (2006), 1579–84.

Figure 17.7 Scene from the opera 'Kaupo' at the Estonia Theatre, Tallinn (Estonia), 1932. Composer: Adolf Vedro. Kaupo: Karl Viitol; the Monk: Aleksander Kikas © Estonian Film Archives

chronicler who struggles to record the things taking place around him. It was even advertised with the slogan 'Henry the Latvian lied!' Yet, as it makes fun of the nationalist history and presents the national heroes as dumb barbarians (abandoning the nationalist reinterpretation of the chronicle and sometimes coming quite close to Henry's images of the Estonians as the uncivilized other), a more accurate slogan might have been: 'Henry the Latvian was right after all!'[149]

Recent novels touching upon the Baltic crusades illuminate similar tendencies. Some familiar plots have been substantially altered, notably the Henry-based storylines of Estonian boys taken into hostage. Rather than the traditional pattern where the youngsters return to continue the fight against the crusaders, in 2000s fiction they decide to stay in Europe.[150] In addition, Rein Raud's (b. 1961) novel *Kaupo* (1990) brought into focus the archetypical Judas

[149] Linda Kaljundi, 'Malev (Der Trupp), Komödie', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 2 (2007), 219–25.

[150] In Tõnu Õnnepalu's *Flandria päevik* ('Flanders Diary') (Tallinn, 2007) the once hostage decides to remain in a monastery in Flanders; and in Tiit Aleksejev's crusade novel *Palveränd* ('The Pilgrimage') (Tallinn, 2008) a similar figure even joins a crusade. See Linda Kaljundi, 'The Historian Who Came in from the Cold', *ELM: Estonian Literary Magazine* 30 (2010), 8–14.

figure. In the Estonian cultural memory, Caupo has traditionally represented the antipode of Lembitu, though his status as reviled figure has not always been so clear-cut. Already in the 1930s there were a few performances seeking to explain his decision 'to join the Europeans'.[151] Raud significantly elaborates the character and admits in the foreword: 'Caupo is a sign with a negative meaning. Even though my novel is an attempt to understand this sign from his own perspective, I ask the reader not to forget the historical negativity of Caupo – nor the fact that also we become unambiguous signs despite whether our intentions bear the fruits that during our lifetime we hoped they would.'[152]

In conclusion, the rhetoric of dichotomies appears to have strong survival potential. The Enlightenment effectively reused Henry's presentation of a radical clash of cultures. It also led the way in the national reading of Henry's chronicle and towards the introduction of political and ethnographic interpretations of this text, which used the chronicle as a source for the critique of the crusades and, hence, present social relations, and as a source of folk traditions. As young nations were eager to construct their ancient past, the earliest narrative source of the region quickly obtained a special place in the narratives of national history. Its *topoi* started to circulate in cultural memory and political rhetoric, and the text was introduced to a wider audience. However, nationalist readings of Henry's chronicle have included both acceptance of and resistance to this text. Indeed, many of its stereotypes have been turned upside down, while other elements have also been almost fully adapted and made into symbols of authenticity. Nevertheless, these appropriations have made Henry's chronicle into a device for the creation of hybrid cultural traditions.[153] And, as the excursion to the Latvian, and above all Estonian, cultural memories has hopefully shown, one should not expect these new traditions to be uniform. They are ambivalent and anxious, full of internal tensions and contradictions. There is no clear and easy way of escaping an identity that derives from the process of negation, differentiation and displacement, relying on the uncomfortable union of the perspective of the

[151] The 1937 play 'Caupo' presents Lembitu as a stagnant backcountry patriot and Caupo as the progressive leader of the Livs, 'a proud and vivacious Estonian tribe ... that brought European culture to the Baltics' (cited in Vello Salo, 'Kaupo ja Lembitu ehk Eestlane ja kristlane ehk Paavst tuleb Eestisse', *Postimees*, 10 September 1993). The author of the play was Minister of Economic Affairs Leo Sepp (1892–1942) under the pen name of Rein Sarvesaare. In the season 1932/33 there premiered in the Estonia Theatre Adolf Vedro's opera 'Kaupo' (libretto by Georg Tuksam) which focuses on (and tries to explain) the dramatic moment when Caupo decides that to continue the fight would be hopeless and instead becomes an ally of the crusaders. See Figure 17.7.

[152] Rein Raud, *Kaupo* (Tallinn, 1990), p. 3.

[153] Cf. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 107.

colonizer and the colonized, as well as the mutilating acceptance of the colonizer's discourse. The same holds for the relationship to its author that makes manifest the double-face and effects of the colonizer: for the young nations, Henry has been at the same time a father and an exploiter, a just ruler and a despot.

APPENDIX 1

Letter of acceptance from Wojtek Jezierski, confirming that the article by Linda Kaljundi, Expanding communities: Henry of Livonia on the making of a Christian colony, early thirteenth century has been accepted for the volume Imagined Communities on the Baltic Rim, 11th – 15th Centuries, eds. Wojtek Jezierski, Lars Hermanson, Auður Magnúsdóttir (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press).

2015-06-12

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Letter of confirmation

This is to confirm that the article 'Expanding communities: Henry of Livonia on the making of a Christian colony, early thirteenth century' by **Linda Kaljundi** has been accepted for the volume *Imagined Communities on the Baltic Rim, 11th – 15th Centuries*, edited by Wojtek Jezierski and Lars Hermanson to be published by **Amsterdam University Press**.

The volume, in which **Linda Kaljundi's** article is an integral part, has been submitted to the Editorial Board of **Crossing Boundaries** series at **AUP,** administered by the **Turku Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (TUCEMEMS)** in March of 2015. The volume is currently undergoing blind peer review.

Kind Regards,

Wojtek Jezierski (Principal Editor of the volume)

APPENDIX 2

Letter of confirmation from Simon Forde from the Amsterdam University Press, stating that the volume Re-forming the Early Modern North: Text, music, and sacred space, eds. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), including the article by Linda Kaljundi, Pagans into Peasants: Ethnic and social boundaries in medieval and early modern Livonia, is about to be published in Spring 2016.

From: Simon Forde <S.Forde@aup.nl>
Subject: **RE: letter of confirmation / accpetance**
Date: June 29, 2015 12:33:03 PM GMT+03:00
To: "'Linda Kaljundi'" <linda.kaljundi@ut.ee>

Dear Linda

Million apologies… here it is

Dated 28 June 2015

To whom it may concern

This letter confirms that the volume *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North*, ed. by Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi, including the article by Linda Kaljundi, *Pagans into Peasants: Ethnic and Social Boundaries in Medieval and Early Modern Livonia*, has been peer-reviewed, accepted by the board of the Crossing Boundaries series, as well as contracted by the publishing house, Amsterdam University Press.

The book is starting the copyediting phase and is included in the Spring 2016 Catalogue, to appear in March-May 2016.

Dr. Simon Forde

Acquisitions Editor for European History, Amsterdam University Press

APPENDIX 3

Verification of Linda Kaljundi's contribution to the article, authored in collaboration of Kaspars Kļaviņš, The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions. – Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, eds. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 409–456.

2015/06/12

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Declaration of co-authorship, setting out the amount and character of Linda Kaljundi' contribution to the article she has published with the collaboration of Kaspars Kļaviņš, The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions. – Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, eds. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 409–456.

I hereby declare that Ms. Linda Kaljundi is the co-author of the above mentioned article and that she has substantially contributed to this work, as well as that she has to a high degree carried out the work independently. Since I myself concentrated mostly on Latvian matters, Ms. Linda Kaljundi analyzed the huge Estonian material. At the same time, both authors made their conclusions keeping in mind the common Livonian context of this historical topic.

Kaspars Klavins

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